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Founded by B. L. GILDERSLEEVE

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BENJAMIN D. MERITT

HAROLD F. CHERNISS, RICHARD M. HAYWOOD
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Honorary Editor

DAVID MOORE ROBINSON

VOLUME LXIV

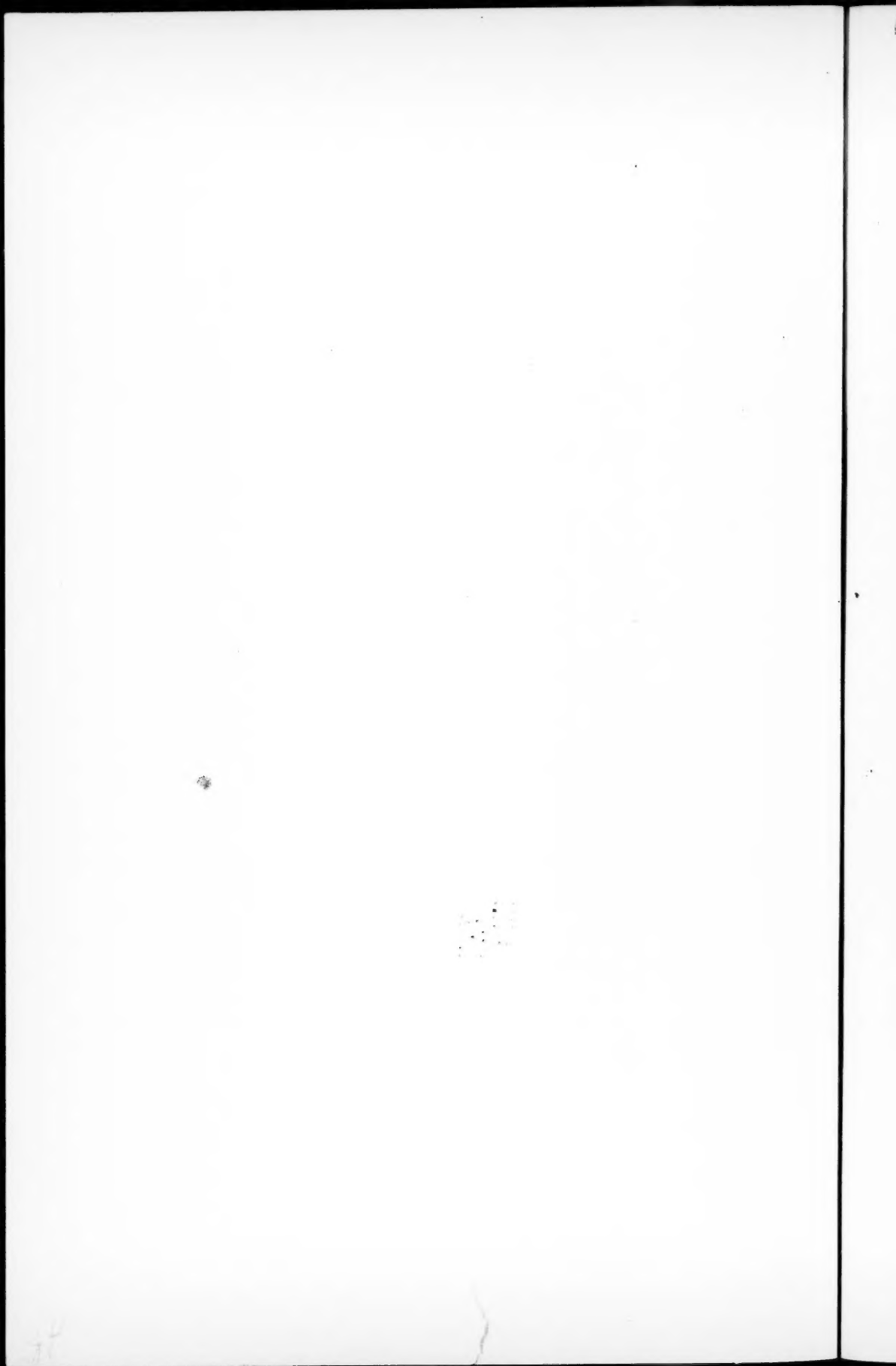
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CORAX AND THE *PROLEGOMENA*.

The beginnings of rhetoric are documented with unusual fullness, but the reliability of some accounts has been questioned. Most ancient historians of rhetoric attribute the first technical writings on oratory to the Syracusans Corax and Tisias and date their activity shortly after the fall of the tyrants in Sicily.¹ But the tradition which is plausibly derived from Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* and is best preserved in Cicero, *Brutus*, 46,² declares that the overthrow of the Sicilian tyrants occasioned many property-trials, which in turn caused the technical development of rhetoric. Consequently scholars have agreed that Corax' precepts were intended for the law-court and did not prepare speakers for the assembly.³ That statement has discredited the fuller accounts of Corax which are preserved in the Introductions to rhetoric and the prefaces to commentaries on Hermogenes, which were written after the third century A. D. These *Prolegomena*, already published in Walz' *Rhetores Graeci*, were reëdited by Rabe in the *Prolegomenon Sylloge*. This second tradition confirms the Aristotelian account in most respects and adds more details about the life and accomplishments of Corax. But most of the bearers of this tradition disagree with Cicero's testimony on an important point. Cicero quotes Aristotle's statement that pri-

¹ The most pertinent passages are reprinted in *Prolegomenon Sylloge, Rhetores Graeci*, XIV, p. viii, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig, Teubner, 1931).

² How much Quintilian, Cicero, and Sopater owe to Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* is discussed on pp. 11-14, *infra*.

³ A convenient statement of the accepted opinions about Corax appears in D. A. G. Hinks, "Tisias and Corax and the Invention of Rhetoric," *C. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), pp. 61-69.

vate law-suits gave rise to the earliest rhetorical theory, whereas the *Prolegomena* on uncertain authority declare that Corax wished to influence the people of Syracuse. Their words imply that the first teachings were deliberative rather than dicanic and contradict Aristotle as preserved in Cicero. With the *Prolegomena* thus discredited, scholars have been able to agree only about the meager reports from Aristotle. Nevertheless almost every modern account of Corax includes with varying degrees of confidence all or some of the details that are preserved only in these late and questionable sources. Even the fact that Tisias was the pupil of Corax rests on the testimony of the *Prolegomena* and similar late accounts.

If it can be proved that early oratorical theory was not confined to teaching for the law-court, the accounts in the *Rhetores Graeci* will appear more credible and the modern concept of early rhetoric will need some alteration. This problem will be investigated in a future paper. At present it seems advisable to determine the relationships of the similar accounts in the *Prolegomena* and to consider the possible sources of their information. The conclusion appears probable that two different traditions are represented in these late histories of rhetoric, one tradition being best preserved in Sopater and the other in an anonymous writer, number four in Rabe's collection; furthermore that Sopater's history is worthless and not derived from Aristotle, whereas the anonymous account in Rabe seems to draw upon Timaeus, although the value of his testimony is uncertain.

The rise of rhetoric is discussed in the following Introductions: 1) Sopater, Walz, V, pp. 5-8; 2) Walz, VI, pp. 4-30 = Rabe, 4; 3) Troilus, W VI, pp. 52-54 = R 5; 4) W II, pp. 682-683 = R 6A; 5) Maximus Planudes, W V, pp. 212-221 = R 7; 6) Ioannis Doxapater, W II, pp. 81-144 = R 9; 7) W VII, pp. 1-20 = R 13; 8) <Marcellinus?>, W IV, pp. 1-38 = R 17. These eight accounts have many things in common and also some important points of difference, especially concerning the question: which parts of an oration did Corax invent.⁴

⁴ The similarities are not surprising, for all these early school-books of rhetoric are alike in many respects and come from common sources. Usually their authors made no claim to originality; cf. Nicolaus in Rabe's article, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), p. 558, 2-3. The introductions were used by generations of school-teachers who altered the text freely

The immediate sources from which the *Prolegomena* and excerpts of *prolegomena* are drawn seem to have arranged the material usually in one of three ways.⁵ The most common arrangement is by the four Aristotelian questions (*Anal. post.* 89 b 23) or by variations of them.⁶ Two *prolegomena* are organized by a decade of topics.⁷ The third plan in Sopater, W V, pp. 5-8, and R 13 preserves traces of a more philosophic

to suit the needs of their pupils instead of trying to produce a new introduction; cf. W. Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik" (Sonderabdruck, Stuttgart, 1937), col. 98, 40-65. Rabe, Preface, p. xxxi, analyzes a teacher's edition.

⁵ This applies only to the general Introductions to rhetoric. The Introductions to specific rhetorical treatises are arranged differently, but the general and the specific Introductions are often combined, e. g. R 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, and 21. The organization of the general *prolegomena* is discussed by H. Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften," *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), pp. 539-589, and *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, pp. iii-vi.

⁶ *εἰ ἔστι, τί ἔστι, ποῖόν ἐστι, διὰ τί ἔστι*. The four questions seem intended to refute critics like the Sceptics who questioned the existence of rhetoric, for Plato's attacks on rhetoric were revived in the second century B. C.; cf. Wilamowitz, "Asianismus und Atticismus," *Hermes*, XXXV (1900), p. 17; H. M. Hubbell, "The *Rhetorica* of Philodemus," *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XXIII (1920), pp. 364-382, and Kroll, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," cols. 18, 9; 41, 60; and 44, 54.

⁷ The ten topics in R 4 are: 1) *πρῶτον εἰ ἐκ θεῶν καὶ ἐν θεοῖς ἡ ῥητορικὴ*: 2) *δεύτερον εἰ καὶ ἐν ἥρωσιν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*: 3) *τρίτον πῶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἦλθεν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*: 4) *τέταρτον πῶς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἤκμασεν ἡ ῥητορικὴ*: 5) *πέμπτον τίς ὁρὸς ἐστὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ τί τὸ τέλος τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ τί τὸ ἔργον τῆς ῥητορικῆς*: 6) *ἕκτον πόσα εἶδη τῆς ῥητορικῆς, καὶ εἰ εἶδη ἀλλὰ μὴ μέρη, καὶ ἐκ ποίων μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς προελήλυθεν ἕκαστον, καὶ πόλους χρόνους διενείμαντο, καὶ πόλους τόπους ἐκλήρωσαντο*: 7) *ἑβδομον πόσαι ῥητορικαὶ καὶ οἶαι, καὶ ποίαν σὺν θεῷ μετερχόμεθα*: 8) *ὄγδοον πόσοι τρόποι ῥητορικῶν ἀναγνώσεων*: 9) *ἐνατον πόσαι πολιτεῖαι καὶ ἐν ποίᾳ σὺν θεῷ πολιτευόμεθα*: 10) *πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δέκατον κεφάλαιον, κατὰ πόσους τρόπους ὁ ῥήτωρ ὀφείλει ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ῥητορικὰ μαθήματα*. In the Preface to his *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, Rabe, p. iv, tries to derive the decade from the four Aristotelian questions. This seems incorrect, for his correlation is imperfect. The *telos* and *erga* of rhetoric (part of the fifth point in the decade of R 4) are not discussed elsewhere under the heading *τί ἔστι* (cf. R 9, p. 125), although they sometimes follow that section. The kinds of rhetoric (seventh question in R 4) are not found anywhere under the heading *ποῖόν ἐστι* (see page 5, note 8, *infra* for their original context). If the decade is not derived from the four questions, this removes the main support for Rabe's (p. v) placing the origin of the decade in the fifth century or late fourth. It could be slightly earlier.

organization by λόγος, ῥήτωρ, ῥητορική, and Rabe suggests that this principle was derived ultimately from Porphyrius but that the other two plans are not found before the fourth century A. D. The history of rhetoric appears in introductions organized by each of these three principles. Only Planudes (R 7) has no explicit plan: his treatise consists of excerpts, as the use of ὅτι shows. When the decade of topics is used (R 4 and 6A), the history answers the first four or five questions. When the material is arranged by the Aristotelian questions (R 5, 6A, 9, and 17), the history is the partial or complete answer to the question: εἰ ἔστιν ἡ ῥητορική. And in the three-fold plan of Sopater and R 13, the history is discussed under the heading ῥητορική. Rabe, in the preface to his edition, pp. xii-xiii, states that these histories derive ultimately from Porphyrius and that Sopater and R 13, which follow his plan, preserve an account that is more nearly true to the original.

Before examining the histories themselves, let us see more precisely how they are fitted into the larger organization of their contexts. This will help to show with which of the three plans the history should be associated. R 6A, p. 59, proposes three of the four Aristotelian questions and rejects them for the decade:

ἀντὶ δὲ τούτου δεῖ ζητεῖν δέκα·

I. εἰ ἐκ θεοῦ ἡ ῥητορική,

II. εἰ ἐν θεοῖς,

III. εἰ ἐν ἥρωσι,

IV. πῶς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἦλθεν ἡ ῥητορική,

V. πῶς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἤκμασεν ἡ ῥητορική,

VI. κτλ.

The first five elements, clearly distinguished, are present in most of the *prolegomena* that tell the history, although sometimes the first point is omitted. R 4, also organized by the decade, has ten similar questions but combines the first and second points. Troilus (R 5), after answering the first Aristotelian question, εἰ ἔστιν, by argumentation, omits the first point of the history but gives the next four in the same order; similarly R 13, Sopater, and Planudes (R 7). Doxapater (R 9), after beginning like Troilus, states the first point fully and then summarizes the other four. Marcellinus (R 17), like R 6A, offers the five points

instead of Aristotle's first question. Thus four accounts omit the first question and four give the whole series.

Since these eight *prolegomena* all have similar points, order, language, and contents, it seems fair to assume that they come ultimately from a common source, at least in part. These similarities will be investigated shortly, but two things are already clear. First, this fourfold or fivefold arrangement is most at home in the decade of topics. When the series appears elsewhere it intrudes upon the context and apologies are offered. In R 6A, p. 59, 17 and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 267, 16, it is given instead of the answer to *εἰ ἔστι*. In Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 1, and Doxapater (R 9), p. 90, 16, it is added as something extra to the proofs that rhetoric exists. R 13, p. 188, 14, indicates the break in the continuity by the phrase *ἵνα τι καὶ τῶν ἐγνωσμένων εἰπωμεν*. Although Sopater provides for the history in one *prothesis*, W V, p. 3, 23-26, he omits it in a repetition of the *prothesis*, p. 9, 8-10. Planudes (R 7) has no obvious plan; this is simply another excerpt. But in R 4 the series naturally occupies the first four questions in the decade. So the history with its fivefold organization fits best in the decade and seems an intruder in Porphyrius' plan or in the Aristotelian questions. On the other hand, the question *τί ἐστι* belongs to the four Aristotelian questions and is promised in the *protheses* of the *prolegomena*. So there seems to be no reason to agree with Rabe, p. lxi, that *ab iis, quae praecedunt de historia artis, ea (the answers to τί ἐστι) seiungi non possunt, delata sunt ad nostros si summam spectas per Porphyrium*. Of course the material under the two headings (history and *τί ἐστι*) antedates the rubrics.⁸ Nevertheless, the history

⁸ A good instance of the violence done to earlier materials in order to fit them into these late frameworks appears in the discussions of the kinds and uses of rhetoric and of the difference between *empeiria*, *techne*, and *episteme*. It can be shown that they originally belonged to a much larger unit. Indeed this unit seems more primary than Rabe's principles of organization. The unit refutes the definitions that rhetoric is an *episteme* or an *empeiria* and accepts the definition that it is a *techne*. The unit is clearly marked in R 9, pp. 110, 3-121, 16, a *prolegomenon* from the eleventh century which has good sources. A similar framework appears in R 13, pp. 192, 3-199, 24, R 17, pp. 260, 1-285, 3 (irrelevant: pp. 267, 9-278, 23), and Sopater, W V, pp. 4, 27-17, 26 (irrelevant: pp. 5, 28-15, 10). All three passages at the beginning promise to refute other definitions and at the end accept Dionysius' definition, although they are not derived from each other. Material from this unit, often garbled, is

appears to be an addition by the practical rhetoricians to the more philosophic organization with Aristotle's four questions, for the treatment of the history suggests that the fivefold version first appeared in the decade and that practical teachers later inserted it into the Aristotelian plan.⁹

Secondly, the similarity of these eight accounts throws new light on other *prolegomena* which refer to some of the five points but not to the last two, the periods in Syracuse and Athens. References to this material occur in four places, the last three being collections of excerpts: R 11, 3, 19, and 23. In each case the phrasing or content shows a connection with corresponding

found in fourteen *prolegomena*. The passages are: Sopater, W V, pp. 3, 19-5, 28 and pp. 15, 10-17, 26; R 4, pp. 37, 4-38, 9; R 5, pp. 55, 8-57, 21; R 7, pp. 65, 4-66, 15 and pp. 70, 23-71, 27; R 9, pp. 110, 3-121, 16; R 12, pp. 173, 24-175, 15 and pp. 179, 25-181, 6; R 13, pp. 191, 26-199, 24; R 13, append., pp. 216, 6-217, 2; R 15, pp. 242, 18-243, 18; R 17, pp. 260, 1-267, 8 and pp. 278, 24-285, 3; R 19, pp. 300, 15-301, 22; R 23, III, pp. 339, 15-343, 8; R 24, p. 351, 4-7.

The essential elements of this unit and their ideal order are as follows: 1) Some wrongly define rhetoric as an *episteme* or an *empeiria* instead of as a *techne*. 2) Distinction of these three kinds of knowledge. 3) Refutation, beginning with the Stoic ἐπιστήμη τοῦ εὖ λέγειν and ending with Plato's πολιτικῆς μορίον εἶδωλον (*Gorg.* 463 D). 4) Summary of Plato's division of political wisdom (Prodicus' *Hercules at the Cross-roads* is mentioned here). 5) Plato's motives in attacking rhetoric unfairly. 6) His guilt of the same crimes. 7) The distinction of the three kinds of rhetoric shows that he was not attacking our rhetoric (the number is five in some later passages). 8) Aristotle's four uses for our μέση ῥητορική. 9) The true definition is that rhetoric is a *techne*, as Dionysius said. Rabe did not notice this unit; cf. p. iv, where he classifies the kinds of rhetoric under ποῖόν ἐστι. This complex of ideas appears more primitive than Rabe's classifications, for it occurs in representatives of each organization and becomes so garbled that it seems old. Some versions are more philosophical. Most of the framework already appears in Quintilian, II, 15, 2 and 23-30; Philodemus, *passim*, simply discusses the nature of rhetoric (*episteme*, *empeiria*, *techne*), but Aristides, *Or.* 45, has a similar attack on Plato; cf. especially pp. 42, 46, 115, 150, 152 Dindorf.

⁹ It was added to entertain as well as to instruct, as Rabe seems to have implied in an earlier article, *Rh. Mus.*, LXIV (1909), p. 563. Extreme examples of philosophic and practical introductions are R 1, which omits the history, and R 4, which has the decade, although both are comparatively early; cf. Rabe, pp. xxxviii and xxiv. Quality is no proof of antiquity. For an indication that R 4 may be slightly earlier than Rabe's date, see page 3, note 7 *supra*.

parts in the full series. R 3, p. 17, 1-7, quotes and interprets Homer, *Iliad*, IV, 1. In complete accounts this passage proves the existence of rhetoric among the gods. In R 3, however, the hasty medical epitomizer uses the quotation to answer *εἰ ἔστι*. R 11, pp. 162, 21-163, 18, gives a hostile summary of the first two points and reworks the fourth point. Compare p. 163, 26 and R 17, especially p. 268, 3. R 19, pp. 301, 23-302, 4, gives the usual heading (*παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν*) and cites as evidence the trial between Ares and Poseidon. This trial is mentioned in the same context by R 9, p. 92, 24-25. But the excerptor of R 19 next jumps ahead to the *peristatica* (the important points in a story), which organize the story of Corax in Troilus (R 5), p. 52, 21-27 and R 17, p. 269, 4-7. In R 19, however, the excerptor uses better known examples for the terms, perhaps because he wished to omit the rest of the history. In R 23, III, p. 343, 23-28, the contents are word for word the same as Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 2-5, although the rubric is altered. There is no satisfactory evidence that these four epitomizers used existing *prolegomena*, but they seem farther removed from the version in Sopater and R 13. This is another indication that the fivefold version of the history of rhetoric was a commonplace in *prolegomena* and that many derivatives of this version have been lost.

It is time to examine the eight fuller accounts and to determine whether they are independent of each other. The best criterion is the use of unique details which cannot easily be derived from other accounts. All eight have the second through the fifth points (in gods, in heroes, in Syracuse, in Athens). In addition to the two representatives of the decade (R 4, p. 18, 6, and R 6A, p. 59, 9), Doxapater (R 9), p. 92, 5, and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 268, 3, have the first point, that rhetoric is from God.

In the discussion of the first three points most accounts cannot be derived from each other. R 4, pp. 19, 7-24, 4, preserves the most details. The brief epitome 6A, also organized by the decade, does not derive from R 4 for it alters the syllogism that rhetoric is from God. 6A, p. 59, 21-22, has a hypothetical, not a categorical syllogism as R 4, p. 19, 11-13, has, and the history that follows also differs from R 4. Doxapater's account (R 9), though close, is not from R 4 since it states on p. 91 that Peleus sent Phoenix and that Meles was Homer's father, details which R 4, pp. 23-24, leaves unmentioned. It also has a fuller list of mythy-

cal trials on p. 92, 23-25. Marcellinus (R 17), who likewise has the first point, has not borrowed from the others because only he uses Priam, p. 268, 11, to prove the existence of epideictic oratory among the heroes.

Four accounts omit the first point. Troilus (R 5), p. 51, 14, differs from the rest by making Nestor represent the epideictic genus. R 13, p. 189, 4, mentions Telephus, whereas Sopater, W V, p. 6, 10, includes Thersites among the heroic orators. Only Planudes (R 7) lacks any distinguishing characteristics and can be derived from R 4 despite a change in order. This impression is confirmed by a study of the later points, which are identical with different parts of R 13 and Troilus (R 5) (cf. page 15 *infra*), although it is hard to understand why Planudes compiled from three different accounts for this one short unit of history. In short, though the material in all is very similar, each account except Planudes' compilation has distinguishing characteristics. The discussion of divine and heroic rhetoric seems to have originated with Plato and the early sophists.¹⁰

When the scholiasts come to the later points, important divergences appear. Although Rabe, Preface, p. xii, says, *sex¹¹ illae recensiones ex uno fonte multis rivulis intercedentibus haustae sunt*, the histories seem to fall naturally into two different and distinct groups. One group discusses only the invention of rhetoric in Sicily and its spread to Athens. The other group starts the history of human rhetoric before Corax and continues it up through Roman times. Again, there are basic differences in the points of view and the facts used by the two groups.

The longer history appears in Sopater, R 13, which has the

¹⁰ Cf. Plato, *Cratylus* 398D, *Phaedrus* 261B, *Protagoras* 361D; Isocrates, XIII, 2; G. Thiele, "Ionisch-attische Studien," *Hermes*, XXXVI (1901), pp. 240-241 and W. Kroll, "Randbemerkungen," *Rh. Mus.*, LXVI (1911), p. 166, n. 2 and *R.-E.*, s. v. "Rhetorik," col. 45, 50-53. G. Kowalski, *De artis rhetoricae originibus quaestiones selectae* (Lwow, Soc. Litt., 1933), p. 7, n. 2, simply suggests Telephus. The *Prolegomena* seem to have derived their information about the Homeric heroes more immediately from some treatise on the three kinds of style, for they mention or imply which genus each hero represents and Quintilian, XII, 10, 64, names Menelaus, Nestor, and Odysseus while discussing the three genera. Likewise, Cicero, *Brutus*, 40, and Quintilian, X, 1, 46, begin histories with Homer, Cicero emphasizing the three genera and Quintilian noting Homer's excellence in every respect.

¹¹ Rabe disregards R 7 and 9.

same general organization as Sopater, and R 6A, which thus mixes three different traditions: the Aristotelian questions, the decade, and the fuller history. Sopater, W V, p. 6, 12-20, starts with the first instance of judicial oratory among men: Theseus' accusation of Hippolytus at Athens, and the first instance of deliberative oratory: Phalaris' deception of the people in Sicily. R 6A, although extremely brief, also mentions Phalaris before Corax. R 13, p. 189, 7-11, selects a different instance of judicial oratory to glorify Athens: Menestheus' accusation of Theseus. Each of these accounts notes Corax and Gorgias briefly, blames the decline of oratory on the Macedonian Antipater, and discusses the revival under the Roman Empire (Lollian is named in each). They start earlier and end later than the other accounts.

The shorter history is preserved in R 4, 5, 7, 9, and 17. Doxapater (R 9) is extremely brief, mentioning only that rhetoric began at Syracuse and that Gorgias went to Athens and taught there. All the others glorify Sicily rather than Athens not only by saying that rhetoric began in Sicily but also by discussing the change from tyranny to democracy at Syracuse and Corax' wish to influence the people. Sopater omits those points. Again, they dwell on Gorgias' embassy to Athens, each noting that the Athenians called his speeches torches and declared a holiday when Gorgias declaimed, details unmentioned in the other tradition. Their histories conclude at that point without any suggestion that there might be more to tell.

The author of the longer history was primarily interested in the history of technical theory and treatises, especially the doctrine of *stasis*. Sopater denies that Corax had any theory, W V, p. 6, 23-24, notes that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens and composed one of his own, p. 7, 11-12, states that these deliberative hand-books lacked any doctrine about the *stasis* and that the judicial *technai* have been lost, and finally enumerates the number of *staseis* recognized by Lollian, Hermagoras, and Minucian. Similarly, the epitomizer of 6A simply lists the first authors of *technai* and enumerates the number of *staseis*. R 13 seems less interested in the theoretical aspects and omits these details while obviously borrowing from the tradition in general (cf. Rabe, pp. xii-xiii) although amplifying his story of Corax with information from the shorter histories (cf. pp. 14-15 *infra*).

The composer of the short history wished simply to describe

the origin and spread of rhetoric. He wrote at length about the politics of Syracuse and depicted Gorgias' success at Athens in detail. These elements would not be equally at home in a history of rhetorical theory.

Sopater's account shows clearly that the longer history is a late reconstruction. The interest in *stasis* indicates lateness, but clearer proof appears in several passages that preserve the process by which Sopater's facts were inferred. He decides, W V, p. 7, 18-24, that the ancients knew the doctrine of *stasis* because similar points are treated similarly in their speeches. He infers from Isocrates, XIII, 19, that dicanic treatises were written but says, pp. 7, 24-8, 1, that only the deliberative *technae* remain (whose?). He cites, p. 8, 16-18, Cicero's knowledge of rhetorical technique to prove that the ancient tradition survived the decline of rhetoric after Demosthenes. So apparently this history does not go back to old sources (cf. pp. 11-12 *infra*), and it seems to be based on some brief history of rhetoric like that in R 20 p. 310, 8-18. Inferences have helped to increase its size, but it lacks ancient authority and reveals a pro-Athenian bias, for it attacks the account that rhetoric began in Sicily by recalling legendary trials at Athens.

When the other tradition is examined, however, no trace of learned reconstruction appears. Instead it preserves details which seem to go back to fairly respectable sources. Nor does it appear likely that the shorter history was simply excerpted from the longer account, because although shorter in scope it is fuller in details. Moreover there is no indication that Sopater's source treated Corax and Gorgias any more fully than Sopater did: neither ancient rhetorician is important for the doctrine of *stasis*, which is the special interest of the author, but both are important for the origin and spread of rhetoric, which are the points under investigation in the shorter tradition. Concerning Corax Sopater flatly contradicts the other tradition and denies that Corax had any theory whatever, although they credit him with inventing the parts of an oration. Sopater's history sounds like the product of a learned philosopher writing on rhetoric, whereas the shorter history has the practical ring of the rhetorical schools. So it seems clear that two different traditions must be recognized. There is no reason why all accounts of rhetoric should come from the same source. Histories also appear in Aristotle, *Soph. Elenchi*,

34; Cicero, *Brutus*, 46-52; Quintilian, III, 1, 8-21; R 20, p. 310, 8-18; *Prol.*, Aristides, III, p. 737 Dindorf, nor can they all be reduced to one original. Rabe, p. xiii, may be right in deriving Sopater's account from Porphyrius' commentary on Minucian's *staseis*, but Sopater seems of no importance for the history of early rhetoric.

This rejection of Sopater raises the more general question of how much influence Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon* exerted on later histories of rhetoric. Ever since Spengel tried to reconstruct this lost collection of early *technae*, which is described in Cicero's *De Inventione*, II, 2, 6, and Gercke ("Die alte *Techne rhetorice* und ihre Gegner," *Hermes* XXXII [1897], pp. 340-381) announced the discovery that parts of Sopater derived from it, there has been a tendency to lend the authority of Aristotle's name to all desirable features in later histories of rhetoric.¹² This culminated in Hamberger's attempt (*Die rednerische Disposition . . .* [Paderborn, 1914]) to find similarities between Troilus, Sopater, and Cicero, an attempt rightly attacked by Hinks (*C. Q.*, XXXIV [1940], p. 68) and others. The discrepancies between the accounts even in Sopater, Quintilian, and Cicero are so great and so many that nothing seems certainly referable to the *Synagoge Technon* except the facts which have the explicit authority of Aristotle and seem suited to a collection of earlier treatises.

Cicero, *Brutus*, 46-48, Quintilian, III, 1, 8-13, and Sopater, W V, pp. 6-7 cover the same period in the history of rhetoric. These three accounts are all said to derive from the *Synagoge*, yet the three accounts do not agree on a single point! The only detail which they might be said to have in common is a mention of Homeric rhetoric for which few scholars will hold Aristotle responsible (*Brutus*, 40, Quintilian, 8, Sopater, p. 6). Sopater starts the history of human oratory in Athens, a fact which Gercke, p. 344, ignores completely, whereas Cicero and Quintilian stress the priority of Sicily. Again, Sopater emphatically asserts that Corax only gave instruction (*διδασκαλίαν*) and wrote no *technē* (*οὐ μετὰ . . . τέχνης τινός*), a point curiously misstated by Gercke, pp. 344, 345, but corrected by Hamberger, p. 7. The real basis for Gercke's derivation of Sopater from Aristotle is

¹² Aristotle's influence on later rhetoric has recently been stressed by F. Solmsen, "The Aristotelian Tradition in Ancient Rhetoric," *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 35-50 and 169-190.

the statement that follows the discussion of Corax in both Sopater and Cicero, that even before this time men had prepared their speeches with care. But Sopater, unlike Cicero, follows this brief sentence with an account of Tisias' famous quarrel with his teacher, which almost certainly does not come from Aristotle. So Gercke seems wrong in ascribing to Aristotle Sopater's next remark that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens. Rather, this sounds like a clumsy and late attempt to explain how Sicilian rhetoric reached Athens; for other explanations cf. page 17, note 23, *infra*. Thus it appears improbable that Sopater got anything from Aristotle. Indeed he states that the early *technae* known to him were deliberative, not dicanic!¹³

Even when Quintilian and Cicero are examined by themselves it is hard to see what value there is in assuming a common source.¹⁴ They contradict each other and differ in so many respects that, even granted one point comes from the *Synagoge*, the authority for adjacent details still remains uncertain. Quintilian tells us that Empedocles made the first advance in rhetoric. To judge from the *De Inventionē*, which says that Tisias was the first technician and the first man discussed by Aristotle, Empedocles did not appear in the *Synagoge*. Aristotle's mention of the philosopher, Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 57 informs us, appeared in his dialogue, the *Sophistes*. This fact alone suggests that Quintilian was not using the *Synagoge*, whereas the *Brutus* begins appropriately with Corax and Tisias.

Quintilian's plan is rather vague. Sections 8-11 list the innovators in oratory, *technae*, and written speeches, and pay some attention to chronology, fellow-rhetoricians, later composers of *technae*, and pupils. These sections disregard doctrines but note speeches and allusions by Plato. In short, the primary interest

¹³ Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 66, n. 1, cites Sopater to prove that the first *technae* were judicial. But Sopater, basing his inference on Isocrates, simply conjectures that there were judicial *technae* but says that they have all been lost. The *technae* that still survived (Tisias, Gorgias, Antiphon, Isocrates!), Sopater asserts, were all deliberative. This testimony is strange, but it certainly does not prove that the first *technae* were intended for the law-courts.

¹⁴ Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 43 and *De arte rhetorica*, I (Lwow, Gubryniewicz, 1937), p. 89, insists that the *Synagoge* is Quintilian's primary source, although he notes the unsuitability of Quintilian's details.

here is not technical. Even section 12 simply classifies the rhetoricians by technical contributions: *communes loci* and *affectus*. This terminates the first unit of Quintilian's history, and the author turns to personal consideration of Cicero's remarks about Pericles (*Brutus*, 27). Certainly Quintilian is not using the same source as Cicero at this point. Then follows one sentence which might still be from the *Synagoge*, that Aristotle considered Gorgias the teacher of Isocrates, but the preceding interruption of the sequence, as well as Cicero's silence about Isocrates' teachers, makes even this attribution uncertain. The rest of Quintilian's account deals with later rhetoric and cannot come from Aristotle, except the controversial statement that Isocrates wrote a *techne*. Only the unit in sections 8-12 is likely to derive from the *Synagoge*, and its emphasis on anything but the contents of *technae* suggests how little here is suited to Aristotle's collection. It must have at least other sources.

Nor are contradictions between Quintilian and Cicero lacking. Aristotle in *Brutus*, 46, ascribes only one *techne* to Corax and Tisias jointly, which may explain why Tisias alone is mentioned in the *De Inventione*; Quintilian seems to credit each with a separate *techne*. Again, Cicero states that Antiphon wrote pieces like the *communes loci* of Gorgias, whereas Quintilian says that he wrote a *techne* and fails to link him with Gorgias. Isocrates is credited with one *techne* in Quintilian, and with several *technae* late in life in the *Brutus*. The most striking similarity between Cicero and Quintilian is the praise of Antiphon's speech in his own defense, and it is precisely this detail that was introduced into the history by Cicero according to Gercke, p. 344. Cicero's next remarks about Lysias, Theodorus, and Isocrates are unparalleled in Quintilian and probably are not from Aristotle because of the interruption (the mention of Antiphon's speech) and because of the emphasis on orations and on the late question whether rhetoric is an art.¹⁵ The first part of the account in the *Brutus*, while unavoidably naming some of the same men as Quintilian, is far more technical and records different details. Quintilian seems interested in biography, not *technae*.

¹⁵ That rhetoric was not a science (or art) according to Isocrates, Gorgias, and Lysias was also maintained by opponents of rhetoric (and therefore probably not by Aristotle) who are quoted in Philodemus,

Because of the conflicts and the differences between these two accounts, it seems safe to claim for the *Synagoge* only the first part of Cicero's account and only those parts of Quintilian which agree with Cicero. He agrees with Cicero on the priority of Corax and Tisias' work, on the composition of *loci communes* by Gorgias and Protagoras, and on the technical activity (and oratorical success) of Antiphon. Even Cicero should be handled cautiously, e. g. when he ascribes sophistic disputes to Antiphon and treatises to Isocrates. In conclusion, Sopater seems worthless and the Latin writers did not draw immediately from Aristotle; whatever details omitted by Cicero Quintilian may derive from the *Synagoge* have become too altered and diluted with other sources to be recognized and distinguished with certainty. For early rhetoric contemporary writings give the reliable facts; later accounts with uncertain sources only confirm and interpret earlier statements.

To return to the discussion of the *Prolegomena*, although it appears that Sopater's reconstructed history of rhetoric can be disregarded (Sopater, R 6A, and 13), an investigation of the shorter account may reveal some material from good sources. First, however, one detail in the reconstructed history requires attention. Both R 6A and R 13 ascribe the writing of a *techne* to Corax. This contradicts Sopater, p. 6, 23-24, who says that he had no theory. In the epitome 6A this looks more like an inaccuracy than a positive statement, for 6A, p. 60, 3-5, lumps together six names in one sentence which credits all six men with *technae*. It does not attribute one to Corax individually. But in R 13, p. 189, 12-17, some other factor seems to be at work. The writer states that Corax saw that guiding the people differed from managing for a tyrant, "and so went and wrote a *techne*." The statement probably did not appear in his main source, for Sopater contradicts this point explicitly and the last part of it is a curious *non-sequitur*: Corax' intuition does not explain his writing a *techne*. The absurdity seems to come from consulting another source and abbreviating it carelessly. The author perhaps wished to emphasize Corax more than his main source had done. He consulted an account like that of R 4, pp. 25, 6-26, 6. After

II, 123, frag. IV Sudhaus. For the question whether rhetoric was all art, cf. page 3, note 6 *supra*.

reading at length that Corax invented the parts, he briefly said that Corax wrote a *techne* about the parts. That the author of R 13 may have borrowed his two sentences directly from the other tradition is perhaps indicated by the same two sentences in the compiler Planudes (R 7, p. 67, 1-7). In Planudes the sentences about Corax are followed by material that corresponds exactly with Troilus (R 5, pp. 52, 27-53, 17) and perhaps Planudes or his sources originated the *non-sequitur*. Certainly somebody made a mistake. And in any case, it appears probable that Sopater's source did not attribute technical achievements to Corax and thus contradicts the tradition in the *Prolegomena*.

Now that the longer history of Sopater, R 6A, and R 13 has been set to one side, it is time to examine the relationships among the representatives of the shorter history: R 4, 5, 7, 9, and 17. Each is again found to have distinguishing characteristics, with the exception of Planudes (R 7). R 4 and Marcellinus (R 17) alone end the Athenian era with a list of the ten Attic Orators, pp. 28 and 273, but Marcellinus, p. 269, 8-21, gives an unusually full account of the tyrants in Sicily; only R 4 refers to *Zeus Eleutherius*, p. 25, 5.¹⁶ Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) organize the story of Corax by the *peristatice*, but Troilus alone, p. 52, 8-20, adds the *catastasis*, etc. to the parts invented by Corax. Planudes (R 7) starts the account of Corax with exactly the same words as R 13: p. 67, 1-7 = p. 189, 11-17, although the context differs. After this introduction R 13 disposes of Tisias and Gorgias with a sentence each. Planudes no longer follows R 13 and instead he copies Troilus (R 5) literally: p. 67, 8-26 = pp. 52, 27-53, 17. The next sections of both, however, are entirely different. Although his manner of compilation is peculiar, Planudes, it seems, can be disregarded since he wrote in the thirteenth century (cf. Rabe, p. xlv) and does not preserve an independent account. Because of their individual characteristics all the other histories of the shorter tradition appear to be immediately independent of each other for the whole unit.

Two facts have been established which help in appraising the worth of these accounts. First, the introduction organized by

¹⁶ The same expressions appear in R 4 and 17: pp. 269, 25-270, 4 = pp. 24, 16-25, 3; p. 270, 4-6 = p. 25, 8-10; p. 270, 9-21 = pp. 25, 12-26, 4. Note that the order is reversed for the first two passages.

the decade, R 4, deserves special attention because it gives the fivefold series of the history in the context for which it seems first to have been designed, the ten topics.¹⁷ Secondly, each account is independent,¹⁸ except that of Planudes. R 4 gives a very sensible and coherent narrative once gods and heroes have been left behind. Its only weakness is the reported (λέγεται) tale, pp. 24, 16-25, 3, about the origin of the dance, but this precedes the discussion of Corax. The salient points of the excellent account are as follows. Corax developed the three parts (*prooimion, agon, epilogos*) to help him to persuade the people. No mention is made of his actually writing a *technē* or of his earlier influence at court; the fee that he charged pupils remains unspecified. Corax defined rhetoric as *πειθοῦς δημιουργός*. Tisias' attempt to deceive his kindly teacher does not appear to take place in a court but simply before an audience (*οἱ παρεστηκότες*, p. 27, 7). This version might be more credible and therefore more nearly primary than the court-setting found in other *prolegomena*.¹⁹ In that case the metaphorical phrase in R 4, *δικάζομαι σοι περὶ τῶν μισθῶν*, might have occasioned the more precise and colorful developments of the story in the *Prolegomena*.²⁰ R 4's account of Gorgias' embassy is also well written and summarizes the situation at Leontini intelligently. So it is especially significant that this version is closer to Diodorus Siculus, XII, 53, 2, than any other existing account, and that the other histories in this tradition say almost nothing about Corax and Gorgias that could not have been derived from R 4.

Troilus (R 5) adds to R 4 the information that Corax had been influential at court, specifies the pay that he charged, and names seven parts of an oration instead of three as R 4 did. The critical point in his account has been those seven parts. Hamberger²¹ has

¹⁷ To argue that the decade came after the fivefold account seems unwarranted because Rabe, p. xxxviii, considers R 4 to be among the earliest *prolegomena*, and because the five stages in the account are most easily explained as part of a decade—whether comprising the first four or the first five points matters little.

¹⁸ This differs from Hinks' view, *C. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), p. 67.

¹⁹ That teachers had trouble collecting from their pupils is attested by Isocrates, XIII, 5-6.

²⁰ Sextus Empiricus, II, 96, and Sopater, W V, pp. 6-7, mention the law-court, but R 4's sources for the story might be earlier.

²¹ P. Hamberger, *Die rednerische Disposition in der alten Technē rhetorikē* (Paderborn, 1914), p. 35.

decided that Troilus' account is the nearest correct and preserves the tradition in its purest form. But certainly all the other representatives of the tradition disagree with Troilus and it seems *a priori* implausible to argue that the first technician invented such a complex *dispositio*.²² That subtlety belongs to the later development at Athens which Plato ridiculed in the *Phaedrus*, 266D-267E. So, however plausible on other grounds, Troilus' seven parts lack the authority of the tradition in the *Prolegomena*.²³ His source remains a mystery.

²² O. Navarre, *Essai sur la Rhétorique Grecque avant Aristote* (Paris, 1900), p. 16, makes this point. Hinks, *C. Q.*, XXXIV (1940), p. 68, points out that Troilus' parts are avowedly judicial and so come from a source that did not consider the first rhetoric deliberative.

²³ Equally lacking in the authority of the tradition is the statement in R 17, p. 273, 1-2, that Tisias taught Gorgias. This seems an awkward but laudable attempt to link more closely the sections on Corax and Gorgias that are separate elsewhere.

Two scholars have recently maintained that Gorgias studied under Tisias: Kowalski, *De artis . . .*, p. 33 (repeated in his *De arte rhetorica*, p. 93, n. 2) and Stegemann, *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Teisias," col. 147, 12-58. Kowalski explicitly contradicts Blass, I², p. 49, and as evidence refers to Philostratus, *V. S.*, 192 Kayser (1838). This reference, however, is not to the text of Philostratus but to the note of Kayser, who denies the relationship between Tisias and Gorgias. It seems that Kowalski misinterpreted Blass' note on p. 49 and failed to check the reference. Stegemann, on the other hand, cites Radermacher (*Rh. Mus.*, LII [1897], p. 413) as his evidence, but Radermacher at that point is merely summarizing Marcellinus (R 17; W IV, pp. 1 f.) and does not assert the complete reliability of this account.

It seems true that Gorgias was influenced by his countrymen, as Stegemann maintains, but this fact is not enough to prove that Gorgias actually studied under Tisias. Indeed the ancient rhetoricians have shown more restraint than the moderns in this respect, and the vast majority (Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian, all the pertinent *prolegomena* except R 17) have refrained from taking the easy and plausible step of connecting Gorgias, who brought rhetoric to Athens, with Corax and Tisias, who invented rhetoric. Those few writers who disagree with the majority and connect Gorgias with Tisias do not agree with each other in their details and thus betray their lack of a common source and the late, conjectural status of their testimony. Sopater, W V, p. 7, 10-12, simply says that Gorgias brought Tisias' *techne* to Athens; Pausanias, VI, 17, 5, that Tisias accompanied Gorgias on his embassy; and R 17, p. 273, 1-2, states rather awkwardly that Gorgias studied under Tisias (in Syracuse) and returned home. Thus, almost unanimously the ancient writers refrained from saying that Tisias taught Gorgias: it seems advisable to resist modern conjectures.

The explicit ascription of a *techne* to Corax in Planudes (R 7) was discussed on page 15 *supra*. It seems to have resulted from carelessly epitomizing a fuller account and no other history in this tradition definitely says that Corax, Tisias, or Gorgias wrote a *techne*. A minor divergence from R 4 occurs in R 7, 13, and 17. Planudes (R 7) and R 13 say that Corax invented four parts and add the *diegesis* to the list in R 4. The occasion for this error perhaps appears in R 4, p. 26, 1: λέγειν ὡς ἐν διηγῆσει. This phrase was intended to describe the *agon*, or part of it, but the later writers easily derived a fourth part from its ambiguity.²⁴ Marcellinus (R 17), on the other hand, gives five parts. These parts lack authority for he quotes R 4's description of Corax' *partitio*, a description that calls for only three divisions. The cause of the confusion is obvious: only Marcellinus (R 17) explains the meaning of the terms again. Apparently he found his material somewhere else and injected it into the story of Corax.²⁵

Everything else except Troilus' seven parts can be explained as having developed from R 4 or its source: the ascription of a *techne* to Corax, the court-trial with Tisias, and the fourfold or fivefold *dispositio*. One point remains to be discussed, Corax' influence at court, mentioned only in Troilus (R 5), p. 52, 4-6 and Marcellinus (R 17), p. 269, 21-23. Even this statement can be derived from R 4 if Doxapater (R 7) and R 13 are taken as representing the intermediate stage. The words in R 4, p. 25, 11-14, that occasioned the fiction would be: Κόραξ δέ τις ὄνομα, Συρακούσιος τὸ γένος, σκοπήσας, ὡς ὁ δῆμος ἀστάθμητον καὶ ἄτακτον πέφυκε πρᾶγμα, καὶ ἐννοήσας, ὅτι λόγος ἐστίν, ᾧ ῥυθμίζεται ἀνθρώπων τρόπος, devised the parts. Since in the preceding sentences R 4 had discussed the cruelty of the tyrants and the rise of the democracy, R 13 (or R 7), which abbreviates this section,

²⁴ Hamberger, *Die rednerische Disposition* . . . , p. 29, uses the opposite explanation. For a similar "improvement" see page 17, note 23 *supra*. In a different context R 9, p. 126, 5-15, alludes to Corax, ascribing four parts and explaining their function. This looks like the same error. The mention of *pathos* in the *epilogos* sounds Thrasymachean and lacks the authority of the tradition for it is not mentioned in the histories. Hinks' assertion, p. 67, that four parts fit R 4 better than three seems wrong.

²⁵ Hamberger, p. 28, agrees that R 17 is composite here.

could derive the following summary, p. 189, 13-16, from R 4: Κόραξ οὖν τις συνετὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ χρῆσθαι πράγμασιν ἰκανός, συνιδὼν ὅτι οὐχ ὅμοιον τυράνῳ διακονεῖσθαι καὶ δῆμον γνώμην χειρώσασθαι, wrote a *techne* about parts. Strictly taken, R 13 says no more than R 4, namely that Corax had a remarkable understanding of mob-psychology. To make his point clearer, and influenced by the discussion in R 4 of the tyranny, R 13 adds to R 4 that there is a difference between managing a crowd and managing for a tyrant. Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) carry this to the logical conclusion. They assume that Corax had been influential at court. Troilus, p. 52, 5-6, even says ἐποίει τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν πολλῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς (the tyrants). It appears possible that R 13's phrase τυράνῳ διακονεῖσθαι prompted Troilus. The story of Troilus (R 5) and Marcellinus (R 17) is basically implausible. The new democracy at Syracuse would not trust a creature of the tyrants. So it seems probable that this notion arose from a misunderstanding of R 4 and therefore Corax was not active at the court of the tyrants.²⁶ Of course all this development occurred in the sources of our *Prolegomena*, which, irrespective of their date, happen to have derived their accounts from three stages of the development.

It appears, therefore, that R 4 may preserve the purest account of Corax. Some source once said that, after Syracuse became a democracy, Corax developed a threefold plan of speaking to help him influence the citizens in the *ecclesia*. Among his many pupils was Tisias, who before some gathering of people²⁷ tried

²⁶ One of the difficulties in the story that Corax was influential at court has been that it made Corax older than Empedocles. But Aristotle said that Empedocles was the first to make some advance in oratory; cf. Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 57; Sextus Empiricus, VII, 6; Quintilian, III, 1, 8. If the above explanation of this mistake is correct, the source of the *Prolegomena* did not contradict Aristotle and thus appears more trustworthy than before. Philodemus, *Hyp.*, II, 201, frag. XV, synchronizes Corax with Themistocles and Aristides, but surely this is too early.

²⁷ For a similar story about Protagoras and his pupil Evathlus, see Rabe, pp. x-xi, who rightly maintains that the story in Diogenes Laertius, IX, 56, should not be credited to Aristotle. Thus this version has no better authority than the story about Corax. Protagoras' legal difficulties may have caused the story to become attached to him. Kowalski, *De artis* . . . , p. 43, thinks that the whole history of rhetoric in the *Prolegomena* developed from the application of the proverb to Corax.

to avoid payment for instruction by a dilemma based on Corax' definition of rhetoric. His master defended himself ably, and the bystanders uttered the famous proverb, from a bad crow (κόραξ) comes a bad egg. It would be impossible to determine when all the details of this story originated.²⁸

For the history of oratory preserved in the *Prolegomena*, four sources have been proposed, two immediate and two ultimate. Rabe, p. xiii, gives Porphyrius as the source. Radermacher²⁹ considers the Stoics immediately responsible and derives the information indirectly from Timaeus. Hamberger, pp. 7 and 37, thinks that the account came ultimately from Aristotle's *Synagoge Technon*. His argument rests on certain inconclusive similarities between Sopater, W V, p. 6, and Cicero, *Brut.*, 46, and on the assumption that Sopater and Troilus used a common source.³⁰ Sopater and the *Prolegomena*, however, agree that Corax was primarily concerned with deliberative oratory; cf. R 9, pp. 149-151, which defends the priority of deliberative oratory. This statement seems irreconcilable with Aristotle, but the question must be left for discussion at some other time. Both Rabe's and Radermacher's arguments are based on the belief that the context in which the history is found determines its more immediate source, but it has been suggested above, especially on page 5, that the history does not seem to belong to its usual context (the four Aristotelian questions). So the evidence for immediate sources seems inconclusive, although the longer and shorter histories may come from Porphyrius or the Stoics.

That Timaeus is the ultimate source of the shorter account is another possibility. Radermacher's arguments are summarized and the pertinent passages quoted in Rabe, p. ix. Diodorus Siculus, XII, 53, 2, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *De Lysia*, I, 11, 3, Usener, both describe the effect of Gorgias' embassy on

²⁸ Kowalski, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 84, considers Timaeus the source of the whole story since he liked aetiological explanations of proverbs. On p. 87, however, Kowalski is uncertain whether the dialectical explanation of the trial comes from Timaeus. Likewise on p. 63 he says that the definition of rhetoric was added by late rhetoricians.

²⁹ "Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Rhetorik," *Rh. Mus.*, LII (1897), pp. 417 and 419.

³⁰ See page 11 *supra* and Hinks, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

the Athenians, and Dionysius says that Timaeus is his source. Radermacher therefore thinks that Timaeus was used not only by Diodorus but also by the source of the similar *prolegomena* (R 4 is the closest to Diodorus!); since the Corax-episode is associated with Gorgias in the *Prolegomena*, both episodes come from the historian of Sicily, who thus glorified his fatherland. This view is not capable of exact demonstration, but it appears more plausible than any other and Rabe's objections to it seem answerable. First, Rabe says that Diodorus and Dionysius do not state that Gorgias brought the art of rhetoric to Athens as the *Prolegomena* assert. But Diodorus does say, οὗτος καὶ τέχνας ῥητορικὰς πρῶτος ἐξέειρε. It is natural to suppose that Diodorus' inventor of rhetoric brought it with him to Athens. The context shows why Dionysius does not mention the importation of rhetoric. He is here interested only in deciding when poetical diction was first introduced to Athens, and perhaps he criticizes Timaeus unfairly. Timaeus probably did not assert that the Athenians never admired poetic diction before but simply that Gorgias introduced a vogue. And therefore, despite Rabe's objections, Timaeus may have said that Gorgias brought rhetoric, or part of it, to Athens.

Diodorus' statement that Gorgias invented rhetoric is curious. It has no authority and probably arose from Diodorus' abridgment of his sources.³¹ But did Timaeus discuss Aristotle's inventors of rhetoric, Corax and Tisias? In Book XI there is some evidence that a source mentioned Corax. Here are the passages that mention Sicily after the overthrow of the tyrants. Diodorus, XI, 67-68, tells of the overthrow of Thrasybulus, a cruel tyrant (compare the fable in R 4 about the first dancing). After discussing events in other parts of the world, he returns to Sicily, XI, 72-73, and describes the reconstruction at Syracuse and the introduction of democracy (463 B. C.). In celebration of the victory, he says that the Syracusans ἐψηφίσαντο Διὸς μὲν ἐλευθερίου κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσαι, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν

³¹ Kowalski, *De arte rhetorica*, p. 56, n. 1, calls the phrase *male expressa* . . . *ex Timaeo*, compares Pausanias, VI, 17, 5 (that Gorgias revived oratory) and Sopater, W V, pp. 6, 20-8, 5 (that Gorgias brought Tisias' *technē* to Athens), and therefore suggests that Gorgias reëdited Tisias' *technē*. But Sopater's account is a late reconstruction and there is no reliable evidence for a connection between Gorgias and Tisias; cf. page 17, note 23 *supra*.

ἐλευθέρια . . . κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα. . . . Compare R 4, p. 25, 3-8: . . . τῶν Συρακουσίων . . . προσευχομένων Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς πικρᾶς ταύτης δουλείας, Ζεὺς σωτὴρ ἅμα καὶ ἐλευθέριος προσώλεις τοὺς τυράννους πεποιηκὼς ἠλευθέρωσε τῆς τυραννίδος τοὺς Συρακουσσίους. In chapter 76 Diodorus reverts to Sicily, telling of the continued war with the foreigners and the return of exiles (461). In 78 he alludes briefly to the activity of Ducetius, king of the Sicels. After a prolonged discussion of affairs elsewhere, a lengthy passage about Sicily begins in chapter 86. A sentence occurs there that suggests Aristotle's property-trials: μετὰ δὲ τὴν πολιτογραφίαν τὴν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γενομένην καὶ τὸν ἀναδασμὸν τῆς χώρας . . . ἐνόσον αἱ πόλεις . . . In chapter 87, also for the year 454, Diodorus continues telling of the strife at Syracuse: the introduction of the *petalismus* ends the power of the aristocrats; demagogues rise to power from the lower classes and more factional strife ensues. He says, ἐπεπόλαζε γὰρ δημαγωγῶν πλῆθος καὶ συκοφαντῶν, καὶ λόγου δεινότης ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτέρων ἡσκέετο, καὶ καθόλου πολλοὶ τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ σπουδαίας ἀγωγῆς ἡλλάττοντο. As far as Sicily is concerned, this passage follows closely after the change in government and the period of reconstruction at Syracuse. These passages would be close together and fuller in his purely Sicilian source, and this is precisely the time that Corax would participate in affairs, especially if he had not been influential at court (cf. page 19 *supra*), for the *Prolegomena* (and Aristotle) place Corax' activity in the new democracy. If the young men of Syracuse were receiving a more modern education and were practising the art of deliberative speech at this time, they probably had teachers. The *Prolegomena* say that Corax excelled in deliberative speech and taught many pupils. Diodorus, unfortunately, wished to condense his source and omitted discussion of Corax by name. But his allusion to instruction for the assembly at this time, especially when combined with the reference to *Zeus Eleutherius*, which appears only in R 4 and Diodorus, makes it seem that the source of Diodorus and the source of R 4 for this information about Sicily were one and the same, Timaeus.³²

³² R. Laqueur, *R.-E.*, VI, s. v. "Timaeus," col. 1093, 58-63, ascribes chapters 86 and 87 to Timaeus rather than to Ephorus. Whether Timaeus said that the cruelty of the Syracusan tyrants caused the

Our conclusion is that Radermacher was justified in considering Timaeus the source for the late histories of rhetoric in the *Prolegomena* but that two different traditions should be distinguished, first the version which Sopater represents and which is a late reconstruction and not derived from Aristotle (Quintilian's authority is also doubtful), and secondly the better tradition which does come from Timaeus and which is best preserved in the comparatively early and anonymous account of R 4. This material from history seems to have been introduced into the hand-books of rhetoric by practical teachers who organized their treatises by the less philosophic plan of ten topics; later the history was adopted in *prolegomena* arranged by the four Aristotelian questions. According to the tradition from Timaeus the first rhetorical theory was for the assemblies rather than the law-courts and developed in Sicily. No technical writings are explicitly ascribed to Corax, Tisias, or Gorgias; likewise no attempt to connect Gorgias with Corax and Tisias seems to have been made. Timaeus apparently said that Corax, the inventor of rhetoric, divided his deliberative speeches into three parts, was a popular teacher in Syracuse, and exerted no influence at the court of the tyrants. Thus Timaeus glorified not only his father-land Sicily but also the deliberative oratory of his Athenian teacher Isocrates.

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invention of the dance (R 4, pp. 24, 16-25, 3) it is impossible to decide, although the tale suits his sympathies and manner.

ONCE MORE THE 'ΕΚΤΗΜΟΡΟΙ.

In a recent number of this Journal Dr. N. Lewis published an excellent article on Solon's Agrarian Legislation¹ in which he amplified and in many respects corrected the conclusions which W. J. Woodhouse had reached in his stimulating book, *Solon the Liberator*.² I fully agree with the great majority of his results, especially his lucid explanation of the legal interrelation between the hektemors and their creditors.³ But, since he several times refers to my article on the 'Εκτήμοροι in *A. J. P.* of 1940,⁴ I may perhaps be allowed to take up once more a point which, though of secondary importance in itself, has not only very far-reaching historical implications but may also give rise to some more general considerations concerning the method of this kind of historical investigation.

On p. 150 of his article Dr. Lewis says that I have argued *cogently* in favor of the point of view that the hektemors had to pay one-sixth of the produce of their farms, not five-sixths as some other scholars had contended. Yet on the same page he says that universal agreement concerning this question will probably never be reached on the basis of available sources and then goes on to point out that the principal argument of those who reject my conclusion is an "appeal to 'common sense'," with the argument that if the rent to be paid was only one-sixth of the produce it is difficult to see where the oppression came in.

It is not quite clear from the context whether Dr. Lewis thinks that there will always be some people (not including himself) who consider the "appeal to common sense" a stronger argument than any conclusion based on a careful interpretation and evaluation of the sources or whether he personally is inclined to give this argument some credit. But this is a purely personal question. It is the problem of the "appeal to common sense"

¹ *A. J. P.*, LXII (1941), pp. 142 ff.

² W. J. Woodhouse, *Solon the Liberator* (Oxford Univ. Press, 1938).

³ Since it would require too much space to explain all the main points of the situation and of the controversy again, I must presuppose that the reader of this article is familiar with Dr. Lewis' paper (see note 1 *supra*) and with the main results of Professor Woodhouse's book.

⁴ *A. J. P.*, LXI (1940), pp. 54 ff.

itself which is extremely interesting. There can be hardly any doubt that this "appeal to common sense" will always play an important part in historical criticism and that even the best authorities must sometimes be rejected if what they say is plainly contrary to common sense. Yet unlimited and uncritical application of this principle may lead, and often has led, to serious errors so that it may be worth while to inquire a little into its nature and validity, both in general and in its application to the problem under consideration.

If we say that an assumption is contrary to common sense we mean that it conflicts with certain general laws, natural, economic, psychological, or otherwise, which we consider more or less universally valid. Some of these laws may be absolutely rigid and may not admit of any exception, but most of them are not of this kind and apply only *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*, as Aristotle would say. This is certainly true of laws concerning the oppressiveness or non-oppressiveness of rents, since everybody agrees that in this case there are wide fluctuations and that what in one period or one country may have been a very light burden can become a very heavy burden under different economic conditions. It is therefore obvious that in an "appeal to common sense" a law of this kind can be used only when we approach the upper and lower limits. But, if this is so, we should not proceed to the appeal to common sense without having inquired very carefully whether there may not have prevailed certain special economic conditions which reduced the margin on either side or made the general law altogether inapplicable.

Let us, then, turn to the special question under consideration. There can be no doubt whatever that Aristotle and the best ancient authorities held that the hektemors paid a rent of one-sixth and not of five-sixths of the produce of their farms, and Dr. Lewis⁵ admits that the linguistic arguments, based on the form of the word *ἐκτῆμορος*, by which some scholars have tried to defend the opposite view, break down completely. On the other hand, there remains the difficulty that a rent of one-sixth seems reasonable and not at all oppressive. One may even try to increase the weight of this argument by pointing out that, if, as all of us agree,⁶ the loan given by the creditor was actually the price of

⁵ See note 1 *supra*.

⁶ See note 3 *supra*.

the farm in a fictitious sale with option of redemption, the value of the loan should have been much higher than the value of the annual produce of the farm and that hence a rent or interest of one-sixth of the produce (not of the much higher amount of the loan) was very reasonable indeed.⁷ Thus we have, on the face of it, a clear case of *common sense versus tradition*. But actually the problem is much more complicated.

The alternative to the assumption that the hektemors paid one-sixth of the produce of their farms is the assumption that they paid five-sixths. But while a rent of one-sixth may seem very reasonable or even low, a rent of five-sixths, if it is to be paid by people who lived on their farms all the year round and had no other source of income, seems almost impossible. Plain common sense would obviously say that a rent between one-third and one-half or, let us say, even two-thirds, would be oppressive but within the limits of economic possibility, while rents of one-sixth and five-sixths are below the margin of oppressiveness and above the margin of economic possibility respectively. It is an interesting reflection upon the nature of the appeal to common sense that, as far as I am aware, no scholar has yet dared to dispense altogether with the evidence provided by ancient tradition and to accept without restriction the verdict of undiluted common sense that the rent must have been between one-third and two-thirds of the produce. They all agree that the word *ἐκτῆμορος* in itself is sufficient evidence to prove beyond doubt that the hektemors either paid or retained one-sixth of the produce. But, if this view is accepted, we have no longer a simple case of *common sense versus tradition* but also of *common sense versus common sense*. If, consequently, we find tradition plus common sense on one side arrayed against common sense without further support on the other, the presumption, it seems, should be that the view supported by both tradition and an argument from common sense is more likely to be correct.

But general considerations of this kind, however valid in them-

⁷ There is, of course, some flaw in this argument. For, if the farm which was sold with option of redemption could not be sold in a free market, it had no marketable value, and the ordinary ratio between the price of a farm and its average annual return probably did not obtain. Still it is quite possible that the amount of the loans was ordinarily somewhat higher than the value of the annual produce.

selves, may mean little to the historian who is primarily interested in facts, unless these considerations can be supported by a further analysis which shows under what conditions a rent of one-sixth becomes oppressive or a rent of five-sixths possible and whether conditions of either kind are likely to have prevailed in seventh and sixth century Athens. Since the ancient sources do not provide us with a direct answer to these questions, we shall have to follow a somewhat indirect route in order to arrive at satisfactory conclusions.

All ancient authorities agree that a very large portion of the peasants became hektemors, which, as Dr. Lewis has shown conclusively,⁸ means that they were reduced to bondage. That really a very large number of people was involved is proved by the violence of the reaction which preceded Solon's reforms. On the other hand there is no indication whatever that the oppression of the hektemors was the result of conquest or any other act of violence, as was, for instance, the case with the helots in Sparta. Nobody has ever doubted that the peasants became hektemors by the more or less voluntary act of contracting debts with the wealthy.⁹ How, then, we may ask, could such a large number of people be induced to take an action which had such grievous consequences for themselves and for their whole families?

Though Dr. Lewis does not deal directly with this question, he has implicitly made some contributions towards its solution. In regard to the big land-owners and creditors he points out¹⁰ that changing economic conditions and especially the development of overseas trade must have made the landed aristocracy eager for the acquisition of additional land on which to grow olives and grapes for export purposes. In regard to the debtors he showed¹¹ that the agreements which reduced them to bondage may at first have appeared not quite so grievous since the indebted peasants, not being able to conceive of any other way of life, would have stayed on their farms anyway since the creditors, at least in the beginning, probably very seldom made use of the clause which allowed them to sell their debtors into slavery

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

⁹ Cf. Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 ff. and 60 f., and N. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

when they proved unable to meet their obligations in full.¹² For it must have been much more profitable for them to have a safe annual return from the farms than to receive a single lump sum for the sale of the slave,¹³ especially since, as Dr. Lewis has proved,¹⁴ through the latter procedure the creditor lost his claim on the farm.

These considerations, however, have two interesting and, at first sight, seemingly contradictory implications. If they are to explain the readiness of the peasants to contract debts with the wealthy, we assume that the conditions were not particularly grievous, which plainly implies that, at least in the beginning, the rent or interest was not excessive, and hence that it was certainly rather one-sixth than five-sixths of the produce, if we have to choose between these two figures. But, if this assumption is made, we face once more the question: how could conditions which at first were not very grievous in the course of time become so grievous that they almost led to a revolution?

Woodhouse¹⁵ had tried to answer this question by the theory that at first the debtors had to pay only one-sixth, that when the arrears piled up more and more they had to pay higher and higher rents, finally a rent of five-sixths, and that only when this latter stage was reached did the debtors become hektemors in

¹² I am still not quite sure whether Dr. Lewis is right when (p. 150) he contends that the creditor acquired the right to sell the debtor into slavery from the very moment when the debt had been contracted, unless, of course, the debtor could pay back the principal, but even in case (and in spite of the fact) that he always paid the rent or interest promptly when it was due. The ancient sources are not sufficiently clear on this point to permit a definite conclusion. But general considerations might lead to the opposite result. In ordinary circumstances the creditor cannot foreclose except after a certain lapse of time, the term being either established by law or, as in most cases, subject to an agreement between creditor and debtor. But, where the loan, as in our case, is at the same time the price of the farm in a fictitious sale with option of redemption, there seems to be no room for such a law or private agreement, since the creditor has been satisfied from the very beginning by obtaining possession, though not free ownership, of the farm in question. For the same reason, however, it appears logical that execution against the body of the debtor was possible only if he failed to meet the further obligation which he had taken upon himself when he sold the farm with option of redemption.

¹³ Cf., however, *infra*, p. 35. ¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 150. ¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff.

the proper sense of the word and were reduced to a state of bondage. But Dr. Lewis has proved conclusively¹⁶ that this assumption not only has no foundation whatever in ancient tradition but also leads to impossible conclusions if it is followed out into all its implications. There can be no doubt that the rent, whether it was one-sixth or five-sixths, remained the same throughout the whole period and that the debtors came under bondage, that is: could no longer leave the farms, from the moment when the first loan had been contracted.

This clarifies the issue but leaves us still face to face with the same double problem. If the rent was five-sixths we must explain how so many people could be induced to contract loans under such grievous conditions. If it was one-sixth, we must explain how the situation could become so aggravated while there was no change in the (seemingly reasonable) conditions.

In order to solve this double problem we must inquire into the motives which are likely to have prompted the peasants when they took up loans, and this question in its turn must be viewed in the light of what we know about the general development of economic conditions.

Generally speaking there are two kinds of motives by which a farmer may be prompted to take up loans. Either his farm is going well and he wishes to use the loan for investments because he thinks that by buying additional land or introducing new methods of agriculture or going over to a different kind of farming he can increase his returns or profits beyond the amount of interest which he will have to pay; or he is compelled to contract loans in order to keep his farm going, because he is no longer able to live on it in existing circumstances.¹⁷ History provides us with many examples which show that debts which have been contracted for the sake of improvements and better profits may quite unexpectedly become a very grievous burden. One of the most recent examples may perhaps be found in a development in Germany in the period from 1920 to 1929. Immediately after the first World War the German government made much propaganda for improved methods of farming, and many land-owners took up large loans in order to create model farms. Most of

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 143 ff.

¹⁷ As to other possible reasons see *infra*, p. 31.

these farms prospered so that the owners had no difficulty in paying the interest and even amortizing part of the debts until the time of the depression when prices suddenly went down and the creditor banks, which themselves had got into difficulties, tried to withdraw the loans. At this point the situation was suddenly reversed. Most of the owners of model farms lost their estates to the banks while those farmers and land-owners who had stuck to the more primitive methods and somehow had managed to get along without money profits but also without contracting great debts were mostly able to keep their farms.¹⁸

There are, however, several factors which make it impossible to assume that anything similar happened in seventh century Athens. If the peasants had taken up loans exclusively or primarily in order to improve their farms and for the sake of better profits, we would expect that a large proportion of the peasantry stuck to the old methods and hence were spared the fate of their more enterprising brothers. It would then be difficult to understand how the evil could become so universal. But this argument alone is not decisive, since our ancient authorities may have exaggerated the number of persons involved. Much more important is the fact that there is no indication whatever of an economic depression affecting trade in seventh and sixth century Athens and that, on the contrary, Athenian trade seems to have expanded steadily over the whole period. We should therefore expect that a good many of those who contracted debts in order to improve their farms succeeded and prospered so that they were able to pay back the loans. This would again have reduced the number of those who found themselves in a state of bondage in the beginning of the sixth century. Most decisive, however, is a third consideration. The wealthy who gave the loans were not bankers or professional money lenders but were themselves land-owners and exporters of agricultural products. How, then, is it conceivable that these creditors should ever have been willing to part with the farms of their debtors¹⁹ for the meagre profit

¹⁸ If this latter group of farmers was also gradually reduced to a state of distress in which they became willing to listen to revolutionary agitators, it was due to the rapidly increasing tax burdens which were a result of the general economic chaos. But this factor cannot have played any part in seventh and sixth century Athens.

¹⁹ See *supra*, p. 28 and note 13.

which they might draw from selling them into slavery as long as they could get a safe annual return of one-sixth or even less of the products which they could profitably sell abroad? And why should the debtors not have been able to turn over a satisfactory proportion of their products to the creditors if their farms had been going well before they took up the loans and if they took this action mostly in order to make their farms more profitable? Yet ancient tradition leaves no doubt ²⁰ that the practice of selling hektemors into slavery became more and more frequent in the second half of the seventh and in the sixth century, that is just at the time when the export of olive oil from Athens experienced its greatest expansion.

Let us, then, consider the other possibility, namely that many peasants were compelled to contract debts because they were no longer able to live on their farms in existing circumstances. How could such a situation have been brought about? This question can certainly not be answered by reference to modern analogies since these were conditioned by an all-pervading money economy the like of which did not exist in the period under consideration. However important the rapid development of overseas trade may have been for the history of social and economic conditions in Athens it cannot have affected the ability of the peasants to live on the produce of their farms just as well as they had lived on it during previous decades and centuries. They may not have been able to buy the luxuries brought to Athens from abroad or the products of a new specialized and refined craftsmanship, and some of them may have contracted debts in order to enjoy these modern refinements. But certainly only the most thoughtless and irresponsible would have been willing to reduce themselves and their families to bondage for such reasons, not to mention the assumption that they took upon themselves the obligation to pay five-sixths of the whole produce of their farms annually.

We must therefore look for somewhat more compelling reasons for the general development. The main causes by which a hitherto

²⁰ See Solon, frag. 25 (*Anth. Lyr.*, ed. Diehl), where Solon says that he brought back to Athens many citizens who had been sold abroad on account of debts and who had been scattered all over the world so that some of them had even forgotten their native tongue, which shows that the process must have started a very long time before the Solonian reforms.

more or less prosperous farm population can be reduced to distress or outright misery are natural catastrophes, changes in the climate, deterioration or exhaustion of the soil, and an excessive increase in the farm population itself with its natural consequence that the farms either are split into units which are too small or have to support too many people if they remain undivided and the common property of the clan. The last two causes are often to some extent interrelated, since overcrowding naturally leads to excessive exploitation of the soil which in its turn, unless very advanced methods of refertilization can be used, gradually leads to soil exhaustion. We know of no natural catastrophes beyond the occasional droughts which happened in all regions of Greece from time to time without usually having any lasting social or economic consequences, and there is no indication whatever of a change in the climate. But there is plenty of evidence for the assumption that Attica became overpopulated at a rather early period. Thucydides tells us ²¹ that a very long time before the Persian Wars the population of Attica had increased in proportion to its area far beyond that of any other part of Greece. There is no need to prove again what is a very well known fact: that in the fifth century Attica was entirely dependent on grain imports from abroad for the subsistence of its population and by the middle of the fourth century two-thirds of the grain consumed had to be imported.²² This was, of course, partly due to the large increase in the metic and slave population. But that the development started long before is proved not only by the enormous disproportion between consumption and production in these later periods and by the notorious unfertility of the Attic soil ²³ but also by the Solonian law which forbade all export of grain.²⁴ We have therefore no reason whatever to doubt the express statement of Plutarch ²⁵ that at the time of Solon the land gave a bare subsistence to those who actually tilled it, a statement which after all may ultimately go back to one of the lost poems of Solon.

This makes it possible for us to gain a somewhat clearer idea

²¹ Thucydides, I, 2, 5-6.

²² See Julius Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Leipzig, 1886), pp. 89 and 91.

²³ Plutarch, *Solon*, 22, 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 24, 1.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 22, 3.

of the general development. For it then seems reasonable to assume not only that the rapid increase in Athenian overseas trade in the seventh century was due to the improvement of the arts of shipbuilding and navigation, to the natural spirit of enterprise characteristic of the Athenians, and to the situation of Athens near a good natural harbor, but that the spirit of enterprise which the Athenians certainly possessed was at least partly prompted by internal economic pressure caused by an increasing population.

It is, of course, quite impossible for us to arrive at definite conclusions concerning the details of the interrelation between creditors and debtors in the early stages of the development, since direct information is completely lacking. But some speculation concerning this problem is nevertheless not quite useless, even if it serves only to prevent us from using false analogies. As pointed out above,²⁶ Dr. Lewis is quite right if from our general knowledge of Athenian trade in the seventh century and of later conditions in Attica he draws the conclusion that the wealthy land-owners must have been especially eager to produce more olives and grapes for export purposes. In relation to their debtors they can have achieved this aim in two different ways. Either they could encourage them to use a greater proportion of their land than hitherto for the production of olives and grapes and to pay the major part of their debts in these products so that they could be directly used for export; or they could require the debtors to retain their old methods and then draw the major part of the subsistence for themselves and for their dependents from the farms of the debtors, which would have enabled them to concentrate almost entirely on the production of export products on their own estates.²⁷ What we know of later conditions in Attica suggests perhaps that both methods were followed to some extent. But, whatever the actual procedure may have been, a rent of one-sixth of the produce must have been quite satis-

²⁶ See *supra*, p. 27.

²⁷ There were, of course, many other factors also which entered into the economic situation. One of the most important factors, for instance, was the acquisition of large estates of all kinds outside of Attica by some of the noblest and wealthiest families in Attica. But, as far as the interrelation between the land-owner creditors and their debtors is concerned, the point made by Dr. Lewis is really decisive.

factory if, as all ancient sources agree, the number of creditors was comparatively very small and the number of debtors very great, so that one creditor had a great many debtors. On the other hand it is quite incredible that the debtors who were already hardly able to support themselves on their farms when they contracted the debts should have taken upon themselves the obligation to pay a rent of five-sixths of the produce. Nor is it easy to see what benefit the creditors could have expected from insisting upon a contract which under the prevailing conditions could not have been upheld for one year.

Let us, then, consider the same situation from the point of view of the debtors. If, as we have inferred, in consequence of the natural increase of the population²⁸ on a limited area, a point was reached at which the majority of the farms produced a bare subsistence for the number of people who had to live on them,²⁹ any year of bad crops must have reduced a large proportion of the peasantry to a state of distress in which they had to contract debts in order to keep themselves from starving. The conditions of the loan may then at first not have seemed too grievous. For the peasants may have hoped that in years of better crops they would at least be able to pay the rent or interest. And there may have been the additional allurements of the hope that by turning part of their farms to the production of more profitable products they might even be able later to pay back the principal. But everybody knows how creditors in such circumstances are always able to manipulate things in such a way as to keep a firm hold on their debtors. This would have been especially easy when through a fictitious sale of the farms with option of redemption the creditors had acquired a right to tell the debtor-tenants what to grow and what not to grow. The disappointment of original hopes caused by such manipulations may have been one of the causes of the aggravation of the situation. But there are many other factors which must have contributed to the same end.

²⁸ Thucydides, *loc. cit.* (see note 21 *supra*), seems to indicate that in his opinion the overpopulation of Attica in this early period was caused partly by immigration from abroad but largely also by the fact that the natural increase of the population was not, as in other parts of Greece, checked by the losses suffered in continuous military conflicts with neighboring tribes and nations.

²⁹ See *supra*, p. 32 and note 25.

On the economic side it is quite clear that, on those farms which in proportion to their size had to support the largest number of people, any year of even slightly-reduced crops must have made a rent which was otherwise quite reasonable almost unbearable. The overexploitation and ensuing exhaustion of the soil, which were inevitable under such conditions, must have made the situation still worse. At this point the right of the creditor to sell the debtor into slavery comes in again and appears now in a somewhat different light. Dr. Lewis was quite right when he pointed out that by execution against the body of the debtor the creditor would lose the farm since the body of the debtor was the security for the principal and that hence in the majority of cases the creditor would not be willing to take such action. But, if some years had passed in which the tenants had not been able to pay the rent without being reduced to such a state of starvation that they were no longer able to work properly, the creditor may have changed his mind. There is still another consideration. W. J. Woodhouse³⁰ and Dr. Lewis have proved that the farms did not belong to one man and his family but to the clan, though legally and for the purpose of contracts one man must have acted as the owner. Since, furthermore, the land was inalienable, the rest of the family or of the clan must have stayed on the farm when the "owner" was sold into slavery. But this would ordinarily not occur unless there had been arrears in the rent. Is it not likely, then, that those people who stayed on the farm were still held responsible for the arrears? And how do we know that this did not make it possible for the creditor to keep his hold on the farm by some new arrangement or legal device even after the "owner" had been sold?³¹

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74 ff.

³¹ One might perhaps contend that this suggestion invalidates the argument used above (p. 30) that it was not in the interest of the creditor to sell the debtor-owner into slavery as long as he could get a safe annual return of one-sixth of the produce. But this objection has no weight. For we must remember that there was absolutely no way in which the creditor could obtain free ownership of the farm. If by the loan contract the debtor was reduced to bondage and could not leave the farm unless he was sold abroad, the creditor was bound also in so far as he could not get any revenue from the farm except through the work of members of the clan to whom the farm inalienably belonged. We must also keep in mind the fact that the creditors could not profitably

But it is not at all necessary to assume that the position of the majority of the debtors had been quite so desperate as we have pictured it, though the provisions which Solon made for the redemption of those who had been sold abroad ³² seem to indicate that such conditions had become not altogether uncommon. Let us assume that only a comparatively small minority met with this fate and that the vast majority of the debtors were still able to pay their rents more or less regularly. We must then again consider Aristotle's statement ³³ that it was the state of bondage in which the debtors were kept, even more than the amount of the rent, which caused the grievance and almost led to a revolution. How could this be true if, as we have agreed, ³⁴ this bondage caused hardly any change in the actual situation of the farmers so long as they were not sold into slavery?

I think that Dr. Lewis is perfectly right when, in criticism of one of the arguments in my earlier article, ³⁵ he points out ³⁶ that in the seventh century Athenian farmers in all likelihood took very slowly to the new non-agricultural trades and therefore would not be likely to run away to foreign countries in order to escape serfdom as long as they could stay on their farms, even under very oppressive conditions. But one may perhaps have some doubts as to whether the situation was still quite the same in the beginning of the sixth century. Considering the precarious position of aliens in all Greek states in the period in question Dr. Lewis may still be right in his belief that few if any of the peasants would have thought of escaping to foreign countries.

introduce on these farms an "extensive" type of farming, by which, in different circumstances, the profit of the owner may be increased while production is decreased, because less labor is required. Since the rent consisted in a fixed proportion of the produce of the farm, whatever this proportion may have been, any decrease in production must invariably have meant a loss of revenue to the creditor. It was therefore not in the interest of the creditors to decrease the number of people living on a farm by selling some of them into slavery, unless their number exceeded the number necessary for its most intensive cultivation. In a period in which all work was done with rather primitive tools the latter situation is identical with overcrowding.

³² See *supra*, note 20.

³³ *Const. Ath.*, II, 3. See also the comment on this passage by Dr. Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³⁴ See *supra*, pp. 27-28. ³⁵ See note 4 *supra*.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

But trades and crafts of all kinds had developed to a very considerable extent before the time of Solon, and this development had been going on over a considerable length of time. It would then be natural to assume that even the more backward peasants in Attica had become sufficiently familiar with the existence of other ways of life for an increasing number of them to envisage the possibility of finding relief from the very great economic hardships of their life by taking up easier and perhaps more profitable professions. It is then that the legal provision of the debt contracts which forbade the indebted farmers to leave their farms without permission of their creditors must have begun to be felt as very grievous. History after all provides us with many examples to show that groups and classes which have accepted without resistance and even without visible resentment the legal and political restrictions under which they have to live, as long as there was no visible alternative, become at once restive and unruly when they become aware of the possibility of a different way of life, even though there may have been no appreciable change in the actual conditions in which they personally had to live for a long time.

That all this is no mere speculation but corresponds to the actual situation in the early sixth century in Athens is confirmed by some aspects of the development in the Solonian and post-Solonian periods. As both Woodhouse and Dr. Lewis³⁷ have pointed out, Solon did three things: he insured the people against enslavement by forbidding the securing of loans upon the person of the debtor; he gave the people back their lands by cancelling agricultural debts; and he took the first step towards making the land legally alienable by permitting a man without sons freely to bequeath his property.³⁸ By this latter provision he not only freed the peasants from a restriction which once had been the guaranty of their citizen status but had since become very burdensome but also compensated to some extent the wealthy land-owners for the losses which they suffered in consequence of the first two provisions, by enabling them to acquire new land in outright ownership, not merely in possessory right.

Thus far Professor Woodhouse and Dr. Lewis agree. Dr. Lewis believes, however,³⁹ that Woodhouse was "too sanguine about

³⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 154-5. ³⁸ Cf. also *infra*, pp. 39 f. ³⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 155-6.

the effects of Solon's agrarian legislation when he pictures the peasants restored thereby to a position of economic security." He admits that "from that monstrous evil, the evil of *latifundia*, Attic agrarian history, thanks primarily to Solon, continued free," but thinks that "that was not because Solon set the small landholder and farmer on such a secure economic basis that he would not part with his land; it was because his laws on inheritance assured the constant division of large estates." He finally quotes with approval a passage from Woodhouse's book which he considers more realistic than the rest and which runs like this: "By declaring illegal the lending upon security of the body, Solon could and did guarantee the personal freedom of the borrower; but he did not guarantee, and in the nature of things could not guarantee, the permanent freedom of the rescued estates. For Solon did not declare illegal the giving of security for loan; he declared illegal only a particular type of security. So far as his own actions and regulations went, there was nothing whatever in them to prevent every newly liberated farm in Attika from being next day mortgaged up to the hilt and falling ultimately once more into the hands of noble capitalists."⁴⁰

There can be hardly any doubt that Woodhouse has summed up correctly the legal situation created by Solon's legislation. But it seems possible to disagree with Dr. Lewis' view of the actual economic consequences of this legal situation. He is quite right when he takes the state loans instituted by Pisistratus as proof of a continued need for loans among the farmers. That such needs developed again and on a considerable scale is quite natural. But it is questionable whether the consequences were so far-reaching as Dr. Lewis assumes. His fundamental premise seems to be that on the economic side Solon's legislation did nothing for the peasants but to bring them back to the state in which they found themselves when the process had started which gradually reduced the majority of them to hektemor status. He seems to imply that in some way Solon did even less than this for them, since their economic situation had deteriorated in the century preceding the Solonian reforms even regardless of their debts. But if this had been the case the same process must by necessity have started over again, with the only difference that the peasants

⁴⁰ Woodhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

were no longer reduced to bondage and could not be sold into slavery, but would have first to mortgage their property, which hitherto had been inalienable in the family, and finally to hand it over to their creditors. Since, for the reasons discussed above,⁴¹ it must have been more difficult in the time of Solon to draw from the average farms a sufficient living for all their occupants than had been the case in the beginning of the earlier period, it would be logical to expect that in the course of the following century or century and a half the great majority of these farms passed into the hands of the big land-owners and that by the end of this period most of the land, whether consisting of large estates or smaller farms, was owned by the descendants of the land-owning aristocracy, just as at the end of the earlier period these same people had acquired possessory rights, though not free ownership, over the larger part of the country.⁴² This is also what Dr. Lewis seems to imply.⁴³ But one has only to read Aristophanes or the orators in order to see that such was not at all the case.

If the general development did not take this seemingly logical course there must have been something to prevent this from happening. I cannot find any better explanation than the fact that the Solonian legislation made it possible for the peasants to take up other professions and the assumption that a large and probably increasing number of those who up to Solon's time had been compelled to stay on the farms, where they were kept in bondage, availed themselves of this opportunity. The complete lack of a right of primogeniture or any other legislation calculated to prevent the splitting up of farms and estates into parcels that were too small⁴⁴ must certainly have caused very serious difficulties, and the decision as to who should stay on a farm and who should take up another profession may not always have been

⁴¹ See *supra*, p. 35.

⁴² See *supra*, p. 26 and p. 27.

⁴³ See the passage on the reason why there were no latifundia in Attica, quoted *supra*, p. 30.

⁴⁴ If the owner died intestate, all his male children received equal shares of his property. This law seems to have been in force from Solon to the fourth century. If the father made a will he could give a larger share to one of his sons than to the others. The existence of this latter law, however, can be proved only for the fourth century though it may have been much older. For a detailed discussion see L. Bouchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la République Athénienne*, III (Paris, 1897), pp. 423 ff.

easy. But all this cannot have prevented a certain migration from the country to the city as soon as the bondage was abolished until the farm population was reduced to a somewhat more suitable number. That this was actually what happened is also proved by the large number of citizen craftsmen and tradesmen whom we find living in the city in the fifth century,⁴⁵ the majority of whom must have been descendants of the farm population of an earlier period. All this tends to support our view of the psychological reasons which contributed to the restiveness of the indebted peasants in the beginning of the sixth century.⁴⁶

To the economic and psychological causes of the aggravation of the conflict between the indebted peasants and their creditors in the time of Solon one may add certain political reasons. Aristotle's remark, *χαλεπώτατον μὲν οὖν καὶ πικρότατον ἦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν τὸ δουλεῖν*, has still another implication. It seems to indicate that in his opinion the discrepancy between the citizenship of the indebted peasants and the bondage in which they were kept was one of the main causes of the unrest. The remark has often been made that the term "citizenship" has not much meaning if applied to a time when, according to Aristotle's own admission,⁴⁷ the whole organization of the state was entirely oligarchic and even those among the poorer people who escaped serfdom can hardly have had any active political rights. It might then seem as if Aristotle, when using this term, had projected into the early sixth century a concept which really belongs to a much later period. This may be partly so. But it seems possible to interpret Aristotle's statement in such a way that it makes very good sense. Unfortunately we know nothing about the details of the development. But there are two factors which may throw some light on the situation. The very fact that from a very early time, probably from the first settlement of Greeks in Attica, down to the time of Solon the farms had been the inalienable property of the peasant families or clans shows that the peasants had always been considered an integral part of the Athenian body politic.⁴⁸ The rise

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Pseudo-Xenophon, *Const. Ath.*, I, 1 ff.

⁴⁶ See *supra*, pp. 36-37.

⁴⁷ Aristotle, *Const. Ath.*, II, 2: *ἦν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἡ πολιτεία τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀλιγαρχικὴ πᾶσι, καὶ δὴ ἐδούλευον κτλ.* and *ibid.*, II, 3: *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐδυσχέραινον· οὐδενὸς γὰρ, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἐτύγχανον μετέχοντες.*

⁴⁸ It is, by the way, by no means certain that the extreme feudalism

of tyranny in the middle of the sixth century through the support of the poorer classes, on the other hand, shows that by this time these classes began to have some political influence in spite of the fact that they were still very much restricted in their political rights, which presupposes that they had been awakened to some political consciousness. As to the intermediate period we have to rely on conjectures. But it would perhaps be logical to assume that the excessively oligarchic rule which preceded the Solonian reforms had at least partly been brought about by economic pressure⁴⁹ and that the rise of the peasants to greater political consciousness was conditioned by the influx of alien tradesmen which had set in in the period preceding the Solonian reforms. For it is at this time that the contrast between the freedom which these aliens enjoyed and the serfdom of so many native sons of the country must have appeared especially grievous.

On the basis of all these considerations we can now give a definite answer to the double question which has confronted us again and again in the course of our investigation. There is nothing in the economic situation in Attica in the seventh century, so far as we can reconstruct it, to justify the assumption that the peasants were ever able to pay or their creditors to demand a rent as excessive as five-sixths of the produce of the farms. On the other hand there are a great many factors, economic, psychological, and political, which show how in the course of a century or so the conflict between the indebted peasants and their creditors could, and in accordance with the general development must, have become so aggravated as to bring the country to the brink of revolution in spite of the fact that there was no increase in the (seemingly reasonable) rent and no change in the legal relation between creditors and debtors. Ancient tradition concerning the status and history of the hektemors, therefore, proves not only consistent in itself but also in harmony with the conclusions which can be drawn from indirect evidence.

of the seventh century in Attica was not preceded by an epoch in which the peasants had a much more positive part in the affairs of their country. One may perhaps point to the analogy of the semi-feudalism prevailing in Thessaly in the fifth century which has been analyzed by Eduard Meyer in the appendix to his work *Theopomps Hellenika* (Halle, 1909), pp. 218 ff.

⁴⁹ See *supra*, pp. 27 ff.

We have reached our conclusion through a new analysis of some aspects of the economic and political history of seventh and sixth century Athens. At this point it is perhaps possible to argue that the ancient tradition concerning the rent paid by the hektemors confirms in its turn to some extent the soundness of the main results of the preceding analysis. This may seem a circular argument. But such a view would not be quite justified. We have seen in the beginning ⁵⁰ that one of the two possible explanations of the term *hektemor* is supported both by tradition and by an argument based on common sense, while the other is supported by an "appeal to common sense" only. Any historical reconstruction which satisfies both tradition and common sense must therefore be preferable to a reconstruction which has to rely on an argument from common sense exclusively.

This does not mean, of course, that all the suggestions made concerning the details of the development must be accepted as firmly established historical truth. Many of these suggestions remain entirely in the realm of conjecture.⁵¹ Conjectures of this kind, however, are not quite useless since the less conjectural reconstruction of the general development can be made plausible only if we are also able to show in what way or ways it could have worked out in detail.

Both in making conjectures as to details and in the reconstruction of the general development we have made free use of conclusions based on those general laws which are derived from universal history and common human experience. In this respect we have followed exactly the same method as those who appealed to common sense against ancient tradition. The only difference has been that, instead of appealing, regardless of all other considerations, to laws which by their very nature can apply only *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ*, we have tried first to reconstruct the historical background as far as possible in order to see what laws would probably apply in the special circumstances prevailing in the period considered.

The brilliant progress of the science of economics in the last century and the acquisition of a new insight into general economic laws have induced some scholars to deal in a somewhat high-

⁵⁰ See *supra*, pp. 25-26.

⁵¹ See, for instance, *supra*, p. 34.

handed fashion with historical tradition. It would, however, be dangerous to forget that history is the only source of our knowledge of these universal laws and that in this respect the science of economics is a child of history. It might be advisable for this child to support its mother rather than to kill her, especially since, even when grown to maturity, it still cannot live without her.

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FERGUSON'S LAW IN ATHENS UNDER THE EMPIRE.

Oliver's recent publication¹ of inscriptions from the Agora excavations has brought to light a considerable number of prytany-secretaries dating from the period of the Empire. In dating these and other inscriptions which contain the name and demotic of prytany-secretaries the question arises does Ferguson's law apply to the Empire period? Statements like, "If the secretary cycle has been unbroken since 49/8, the year of Apolexis falls in 25/4"² call for a re-examination of the evidence as to the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

In his study of the Athenian archons under the Empire Graindor concludes that Ferguson's law no longer holds; he therefore dates the change in the method of choosing archons from 103/2, the date in Ferguson's earlier work when the secretary cycle stopped.³ We know now that Ferguson's law relative to the *γραμματεῖς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* continues at least until 92/1. Though we have the demotic of only two secretaries in the ensuing period there is a strong possibility that the cycle continued at least until the middle of the century. If there existed as before 92/1 a coördinate rotation between the tribal cycles of the prytany-secretaryship and the priesthood of Asklepios it is likely that Ferguson's law continued until 49/8.⁴ Assuming that Ferguson's law was broken at the beginning of the first century B. C. Graindor claims that it was not re-established in the Empire period.

The specific evidence, however, which Graindor cites as the basis of his conclusion does not confirm his assumption. Cornelius Menestheus, the *γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα*⁵ in *I. G.*, II², 1776, 1781, whom Graindor cites as evidence in the Empire

¹ J. H. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), pp. 29-103.

² *Ibid.*, p. 82, n. 22.

³ P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes athéniens sous l'Empire* (*Mémoires de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, VIII, 2 [Brussels, 1922]), pp. 13, 14, n. 1.

⁴ W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 32-4.

⁵ For this more usual designation of the *γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν* cf. W. S. Ferguson, *The Athenian Secretaries* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, VII [Ithaca, 1898]), pp. 65-6.

period of the same secretary in an interval of two or three years, is actually the secretary of two prytany lists which belong to the same year.⁶ Similarly the secretaries of the Council and Demos in two consecutive years (*I. G.*, II², 1773, γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Ἀχαρνὸς Λαμπτρέυς [Erechtheis I] and *I. G.*, II², 1774, γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου Μάρκος Εὐκαρπίδου Ἀζηγιεύς [Hippothontis X]) cannot be used as evidence by analogy for a breakdown of Ferguson's law. The γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου was chosen by χειροτονία rather than the lot as far back as Aristotle's own day.⁷ Furthermore Dow has shown that this secretary was not chosen according to any cyclical order of rotation and that already in the Hellenistic period this office had become a political post to which a man graduated from the undersecretaryship.⁸ Thus all the evidence cited by Graindor does not establish his claim that the secretary cycle was not re-established in the Empire period.

An examination of the evidence in the period following 92/1 does not establish with absolute certainty the cessation of Ferguson's law with respect to secretary tribal cycles. Where a possibility is offered of testing the tribal rotation of the secretaryship we have the following results.

The only secretaries with demotics immediately after 92/1 are:

TABLE 1 (Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 34)

Year	Archon	Secretary	No. of Phyle	No. of Phyle	Priest of Asklepios
52/1	Lysandros	Γάϊος Γαίου Ἀλαϊεύς	II or VIII	12	
51/0	Lysiades			I	Diokles Kephesia
50/49	Demetrios			2	
49/8	Demochares	— — στοκλέους Ἀπολλωνιεύς	XII	3	
48/7	Philokrates			4	

On the surface this evidence points to the discontinuance of the official tribal order but we must not exclude the possibility that we have here evidence for a tribal cycle in the allotment order such as Ferguson has shown to exist in the prytany-secretaryship for one cycle in the period 157/6-146/5.⁹ The lack of a coördinate

⁶ Cf. *I. G.*, II², 1781, note; 1776, note.

⁷ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁸ S. Dow, *Prytaneis (Hesperia, Supplement I [Athens, 1937])*, p. 16.

⁹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 49.

rotation between the tribes of prytany-secretaries and the tribes of the priests of Asklepios¹⁰ may indicate only that the secretary cycle was subject to political disturbance after 92/1 whereas the priesthood of Asklepios being a non-political office was less subjected to the disturbance of the official tribal order.¹¹ In view of the allotment order in the list of archons dating from 103/2-96/5¹² it may be that the secretary cycles also continued in the allotment order. Both offices may have found it easier to continue in an allotment order than make the necessary adjustments to re-establish the official order. Thus the evidence does not exclude the possibility of prytany-secretary cycles in the allotment order in this specific portion of the first century.

The next possibility of a tribal rotation of the prytany-secretaryship is found in a decree passed in the archonship of T. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος who has been securely dated by Kolbe in 117/8.¹³ The prytany-secretary for this year is Νευκίας Δωρίωνος Φλαεύς (Ptolemais V). Now if we rotate the prytany-secretaryship in the official order of the tribes from 117/8 to 131/2 we come upon an interesting discovery: see Table 2, p. 47.

From this Table we may note the following facts. The prytany-secretary cycle, in which the secretary for 117/8 belongs to Ptolemais (V), ends in 124, the year in which Hadrian visited Athens. The coincidence of Hadrian's arrival in Athens with the completion of a prytany-secretary tribal cycle would thus facilitate the creation of a new tribe. Hadrian arrived in Athens in Boedromion (Sept.-Oct.) of 124;¹⁴ his arrival was marked with many honors among which was changing the commencement of the official year from Ἐκατομβαιῶν to Βοηδρομιῶν. The prytany-secretary from Attalis (12) must have assumed office either in Ἐκατομβαιῶν or Βοηδρομιῶν in 124. Weber has shown that

¹⁰ Though Graindor is in doubt as to whether Ferguson's law with respect to the priests of Asklepios continues in the Empire period, he uses the Asklepios priest cycles to date several archons, cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, n. 1; 33-4; 90. This priesthood had become a life office during the second half of the first century A. D., cf. *I. G.*, II², 4481, 4495, 3704.

¹¹ Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, pp. 65-6.

¹² *I. G.*, II², 2336.

¹³ W. Kolbe, "Studien zur attischen Chronologie der Kaiserzeit," *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI (1921), p. 108.

¹⁴ Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Hadrianis was created in the winter of 124/5 or more probably in March 125.¹⁵ This meant that the prytany-secretary from Attalis (12) must have served until September 125 and that the new secretary cycle could not start until September 125. The same must have been the case with the archon eponymous Εὐφάνης who marks the first year of Hadrian's ἐπιδημία; he must have

TABLE 2 (based on Kirchner-Kolbe table, cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI [1942], pp. 84-5)

Year	Archon	No. of Phyle	No. of Phyle	Secretary
117/8	T. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος Ἀγνούσιος	XII	V	Νεικίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς
118/9	Α. Οὔιβούλλιος Ἱππαρχος Μαραθώνιος	X	6	
119/20	Φλάουιος Στρατόλαος		7	
120/1	Κλ. Δημόφιλος		8	
121/2	Φλάουιος Σοφοκλῆς		9	
122/3	T. Φλ. Ἀλκιβιάδης (I), Λεωσθένους Παιανιεύς	III	10	
123/4	Κάσιος Διογένης		11	
124/5	Φλ. Εὐφάνης		12	
Creation of Hadrianis				
125/6	Γ. Ἰούλιος Κάσιος Στεριεύς	III	1	
126/7	Τιβ. Κλ. Ἡρώδης Μαραθώνιος	XI	2	
127/8	Μέμμιος [...]. . .]ρος Κολ[λυτεύς]	II	3	
128/9	Κλ. Δομετιανός		4	
129/30			5	
130/1			6	
131/2	Κλ. Φιλογένης Βησαιεύς (Hadrianis)	VII	7 (Hadrianis)	

continued in office until September 125 when Cassius went into office. Therefore both the secretary of 125/6, the date of the commencement of a new tribal cycle, and the archon Cassius assumed office in September 125.

Now if we rotate the prytany-secretaryship in the official tribal order forward from this point we find that Hadrianis' turn, being seventh in the new official order,¹⁶ comes on 131/2. Even though Hadrianis was created in 125 the archaizing spirit of the time would prevent Hadrianis from holding the secretaryship until

¹⁵ W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 163; cf. Graindor, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22, and Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien* (Cairo, 1934), pp. 18 ff.

¹⁶ Pausanias, I, 5, 5.

its turn came in the official order. Perhaps Hadrian himself with his passionate devotion to Athenian antiquarianism would not wish the tribal order to be broken and requested that Hadrianis await its official turn. On the occasion of Hadrianis' turn in 131/2 the Athenians gave signal honor to Hadrian by selecting as archon eponymous a man from the deme of Βῆσαι, a deme in which, as Oliver has shown,¹⁷ Hadrian himself and all later Roman emperors who became citizens of Athens were enrolled. The coincidence of an archon and a prytany-secretary from Hadrianis in 131/2 must have been a deliberate policy in honoring Hadrianis' inception as seventh in the official order of the Athenian tribes. If this is the case we have here evidence for the existence of the tribal cycles in the official order in the time of Hadrian.

As partial corroboration of this we have the coincidence of a secretary in the exact year in which Graindor, on independent grounds, had approximately dated the archon of the same decree. Graindor, on the basis of internal evidence, has given in his table of archons 95/6 as the approximate date of the archonship of Φιλόππαπος and Λαλιανός.¹⁸ The prytany-secretary in the archonship of Φιλόππαπος and Λαλιανός is Βούλων Μοιραγένους Φυλάσιος of the tribe Oeneis (VII).¹⁹ The only definite *point d'appui* for testing a tribal cycle in this period is the archonship of Τ. Κωπώνιος Μάξιμος securely dated by Kolbe in 117/8. The secretary for 117/8 is Νεκίας Δωρίωνος Φλυεύς of the tribe Ptolemais (V).²⁰ If we project tribal cycles from the year of the latter secretary we find that the year of Βούλων Μοιραγένους falls on 95/6, the approximate date which Graindor on independent evidence had given to Φιλόππαπος and Λαλιανός. Though this coincidence is not offered as positive proof it does give some additional confidence in believing in the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

The final possibility of testing the tribal rotation of the prytany-secretaryship is found in several prytany lists dated in the years 166/7-169/70, years in which the sequence of archons is clear and their date certain.²⁰ The relevant facts are stated in the following

¹⁷ Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), p. 60.

¹⁸ Graindor, *op. cit.*, No. 69.

¹⁹ *I. G.*, II², 1759.

²⁰ Cf. Kolbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 137, 138-9, 149; cf. note 31 *infra*.

table which contains the only three secretaries who can be dated consecutively in the Empire period.

TABLE 3

Inscription	Year	Archon	Secretary	Demotic	Phyle
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1774	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαῖος	Φυλάσιος	Oeneis VIII
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1775; <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), Nos. 18 and 21	168/9	Τινήσιος Ποντικός	Σκρειβώνιος Ταμιακός	'Αλαιεύς	Kekropis IX
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776, 1781.	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Κορ. Μενεσθεύς		

From this table it is evident that if we knew the demotic of Κορ. Μενεσθεύς we could test the possibility of the prytany-secretaryship in this period. It has been apparently overlooked that Κορ. Μενεσθεύς, who is γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα in the two prytany lists dating from 169/70, comes from the same stemma as Κλέων Μενεσθέως 'Αζηγιεύς who is κοσμήτης in *I. G.*, II², 1969, line 3 and note, 1970, line 4 and note; Λ. Κορ. 'Αττικὸς ὁ καὶ Κλέων 'Αζηγιεύς, who is ἐφηβος in 112/3-125/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2029, line 4); Λ. Κορ. 'Αττικὸς ὁ καὶ Μενεσθεύς 'Αζηγιεύς also an ἐφηβος in 112/3-125/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2029, line 7); the latter ἐφηβος also appears in a dedication dated *ca.* 138-161 (*I. G.*, II², 3392 and note); Λ. 'Ερέννιος Κορνήλιος ὁ καὶ 'Αττικὸς 'Αζηγιεύς, who is κοσμήτωρ ἐφήβων in 165/6 (*I. G.*, II², 2090, lines 4 and 12). Thus Κορ. Μενεσθεύς, the secretary for 169/70, can now be assigned on the basis of this stemma to the deme 'Αζηγία of the tribe Hippothontis (X). With the secretary of 167/8 coming from Oeneis (VIII), that of 168/9 coming from Kekropis (IX), and that of 169/70 coming from Hippothontis (X) we have high hopes for the possibility of tribal cycles in this period. If we only had another precisely dated secretary to serve as a *point d'appui* we could triangulate, as it were, the possibility of tribal cycles and thus definitely establish or reject the continuation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period.

The missing link and corroboration of tribal cycles in this period is found in *I. G.*, II², 1077, a decree passed in the archonship of Φλ. Διογένης. This archon has been dated with certainty by Dittenberger in 209/10,²¹ for the decree passed in Posideon

²¹ W. Dittenberger, *S. I. G.*³, No. 872, n. 3; cf. *I. G.*, II², 1077, note to lines 6-7.

(Dec.-Jan.) is in honor of Geta who was elevated by Septimius Severus, after the Caledonian campaign in the closing months of 209,²² to the rank of Augustus and assumed the title *Britannicus*. Φλ. Διογένης therefore has been dated with certainty by Dittenberger in 209/10 though Graindor dates him in 208/9 or 209/10, favoring the earlier date.²³ Now it happens that the secretary of this same decree, dated on independent grounds, establishes beyond doubt Dittenberger's date and furnishes conclusive evidence for the continuation of Ferguson's law. The secretary for the year in which Φλ. Διογένης was archon is Ῥόδων Καλλίστον, Μαπαθώνιος (Aiantis XI). Now if we begin with 167/8-169/70, years in which the secretaries come from Oeneis (VII), Kekropis (IX), and Hippothontis (X), and rotate forward tribal cycles in the official order we find that the year in which Ῥόδων serves as prytany-secretary is 209/10, the very year in which Dittenberger, on the basis of the elevation of Geta to the rank of Augustus in 209, dated the archon Φλ. Διογένης. This coincidence reached on the basis of two pieces of evidence quite independent of each other definitely establishes the operation of Ferguson's law in the Empire period and specifically supplies for us the upper and lower limits of tribal cycles extending from 167/8 to 209/10.

Our confidence in this conclusion may be shaken by the fact that the secretary cycle in the earlier period of the second century (95/6-131/2) does not, if rotated forward, dovetail with the secretary cycle beginning with 167/8. But the various breaks in the tribal cycles in the Hellenistic period show that tribal cycles adjust themselves to the social and political conditions of Athens. Therefore the possibility of a similar break in the tribal order with a later readjustment must not be ruled out even in the Empire period. The stability of internal conditions in Athens in the Empire period does not suggest the same reasons for the break as in the cycles in the Hellenistic period. Insufficient evidence with respect to secretaries in this period, 117/8-167/8, prevents a precise determination of the point where the cycle breaks. The only secretaries in the interval between

²² For the date of the elevation of Geta to the rank of Augustus, cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum*, VIII, p. 427; Dittenberger, *I. G.*, III, 10, note; cf. *Cambridge Ancient History*, XII, p. 41; Graindor, *op. cit.*, p. 236, n. 4.

²³ Graindor, *op. cit.*, No. 169.

131/2 and 167/8 are ——— Εὐδήμων Γαργήτιος dated by Oliver in the first half of the century and — — ατων Γαργήτιος dated by Oliver in the middle of the century.²⁴ The first secretary may be placed either in 126/7 or 139/40, while the second may be placed in 152/3, if the cycles continue in the normal order after 131/2. But lack of complete evidence concerning where the break in the cycle might have occurred or the reasons for the break leaves us in darkness as to the date of these two secretaries.

Yet the evidence given in support of tribal cycles in these periods of the second century (95/6–131/2, 167/8–209/10) is of such a nature that, until the contrary is proved,—and certainly it is not proved by the evidence presented by Graindor—, we may be disposed to believe that the earlier method of selecting prytany-secretaries was maintained in the Empire period. It is not likely that the prytany-secretaryship which was closely connected with the rotation of the prytaneis, a tribal mechanism that still survived in the time of Hadrian, should be changed. It is obvious, however, that the office has lost the importance it once had. In the prytany lists of the Empire the secretary is not always recorded with the *aisitai*, and in many cases when his name is recorded the demotic is lacking. Whenever the γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα is present in these lists he follows the γραμματεὺς βουλῆς καὶ δήμου.²⁵ But this decline in importance is not evidence in itself of the change in the method of choosing the prytany-secretary. It may only account for the absence of his name or the demotic.

If this is the case with the prytany-secretaryship in the Empire period, we have unexpectedly found a criterion for a precise dating of several archons and a number of secretaries in the Empire period. Table 4 gives us the approximate or exact dating by editors of the archons and secretaries who have been dated shortly before or after 167/8. Now if we arrange the secretaries with demotics into tribal cycles in the official order, setting them in the period determined by internal and external evidence, we gain the precise dating for some of these archons, secretaries, and inscriptions as given on Table 5.

A review of the evidence concerning the prytany-secretaries shows that we cannot share Graindor's judgment about Ferguson's

²⁴ Oliver, *Hesperia*, XI (1942), Nos. 11, 14.

²⁵ Oliver, *ibid.*, p. 30; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 22.

TABLE 4

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Deme	Phyle
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1773	166/7	M. Βαλερίου Μαμερτίνου	Φ...ος Ποσειδωνίου	Φυλάσιος	Oeneis VIII
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1774	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαίος	'Αλαιεύς	Kekropis IX
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1775; { Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), Nos. 18, 21	168/9	Τινήσιος Ποντικός Βησεύς	Σκρεβιώνιος Ταμιακός		
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776, { 1781, 2029, 3392	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Kop. Μενεαθεύς	('Αζήνιεύς)	Hippothontis X
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1790	ca. 170/80?	'Αθηνόδωρος ὁ καὶ 'Αγρίππας	Εὐχάριστος Παραμόνου	'Επεικίδης	Kekropis IX
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1794	ca. 180?	'Ασμένου 'Ιταῖος	-- Διονυσίου		
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1795	ca. 180?	Δημόστρατος Μαραθώνιος	'Ονήσιμος Εὐτυχίδου	Λαμπρεύς	Erechtheis I
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796	ca. 180?		Κλάδιος 'Αντίοχος ²⁶	(Βερνεκίδης) ²⁶	Ptolemais V
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798; { 2086, line 78	ca. 180?		'Ιστλή (ιος) Πυθόδωρος		
Meritt, <i>Hesp.</i> , { III (1934),	ca. 180?		Εισίδωρος 'Ον --	'Αναγυράσιος	Erechtheis I
No. 43					
Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , { XI (1942),	end of 2nd cent.		Αὐ(ίδιος?) 'Τάκινθος		
No. 4					
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1791; { Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , { IV (1935),	181/2-182/3	'Αναρχία (μετὰ Μεμ. Φλάκκον)	Μυστικός	'Ερσιόδης	Hippothontis X or Antiochis XII
No. 11					
Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , { XI (1942),	end of 2nd cent.		Εισίδωρος Φήλικος	'Αγγελῆθεν	Pandionis III
No. 23; <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1773					
Oliver, <i>ibid.</i> , { No. 5	ca. 190-200?		Εὐκαρπος	Σφῆττιος	Akamantis VI
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1077	208/9 or 209/10	Φλ. Διογένης Μαραθώνιος	'Ρόδων Καλλιστου	Μαραθώνιος	Aiantis XI
Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , { XI (1942),	beginning of 3rd cent.		Θεο[---	Αθ]μονεύς ²⁷	Attalis XIII
No. 36					
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1078	ca. 210	'Αραβιανός	Εὐτυχος		

TABLE 5

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Deme	Phyle
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1773	166/7	Μ. Βαλερίου Μαμερτίνου	Φ...ος Ποσειδωνίου	Φυλάσιος	7
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1774	167/8	'Αναρχία (I)	Μουσαῖος	'Αλαῖς	Oeneis VIII
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1775; Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942)	168/9	Τιμήιος Ποντικός Βησεύς	Σκρεμβώνιος Ταμιακός		Kekropis IX
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1776, 1781	169/70	'Αναρχία (II)	Κορ. Μενεσθεύς	('Αζηνιεύς)	Hippothontis X
	170/1				11
	171/2				12
	172/3				13
	173/4				1
	174/5				2
	175/6				3
	176/7				4
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1798, 2086	177/8		'Ιστλή(ιος) Πυθόδωρος	(Βερνικίδης) ²⁸	Ptolemais V
	178/9				6
	179/80				7
	180/1				8
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1790, 1739	181/2	(Μ. Φλάκκος Μαραθώνιος)	Ευχάριστος Παραμόνου	'Επικίδης ²⁹	Kekropis IX
{ <i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1739; Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , IV (1935), No. 11	182/3	'Αναρχία (μετὰ Μ. Φλάκκον)	Μυστικός	'Ερραιάδης ³⁰	Hippothontis X
	183/4				11
	184/5				12
	185/6				13
<i>I. G.</i> , II ² , 1796	186/7		Κλώδιος 'Αντίοχος	Λαμπιτρεύς	Erechtheis I
	187/8				2
{ Oliver, <i>Hesp.</i> , XI (1942), No. 23	188/9		Εισίδωτος Φήλικος	'Αγγεληθεν	Pandionis III
	189/90				4
	190/1				5

TABLE 5 (Continued)

Inscription	Date	Archon	Secretary	Deme	Phyle
{ Oliver, <i>ibid.</i> , No. 5	191/2		Εύκαρπος	Σφήττιος	Akamantis VI
	192/3				7
	193/4				8
	194/5				9
	195/6				10
	196/7				11
	197/8				12
	198/9				13
	199/200		Εισίδωρος 'Ον -	'Αναγυράσιος	Erechtheis I
{ Meritt, <i>Hesp.</i> , III (1934), No. 43	200/1				2
	201/2				3
	202/3				4
	203/4				5
	204/5				6
	205/6				7
	206/7				8
	207/8				9
	208/9				10
	209/10	Φλ. Διογένης Παραθέωνιος	'Ρόδων Καλλίστου	Μαραθέωνιος	Aiantis XI
I. G., II ² , 1077	210/11				12

law in the Empire period. The evidence for tribal cycles, though limited, definitely proves that Ferguson's law continued in the Empire period. With this discovery the writer hopes to have laid the foundation for a more precise chronology of Athens in the Roman period. With the touchstone of Ferguson's law in the Empire period we can not only date much of the new material but also date precisely many of the archons, such as are associated with the paidotribia of Abascantus, who can now be definitely assigned to 136/7,³¹ or are mentioned in many prytany lists. Furthermore the prosopographia in the inscriptions which can be dated now by means of Ferguson's law will be of considerable ancillary value in giving more precise limits to other inscriptions. Finally the persistence of Ferguson's law in the second century A. D. shows the tenacity and longevity of the basic feature of democracy in an Athens whose democracy perished centuries before.³²

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²⁰ The demotic of Ἰστλή (ιος) Πυθόδωρος may be inferred from Ἰστλήιος Συνέρως Βερ(νικίδης) in *I. G.*, II², 2086, line 78. The gentilicium is so rare that we may confidently assign the secretary of *I. G.*, II², 1798 to Ptolemais.

²⁷ At my protest Oliver (in a letter) retracts the reading [γραμματεὺς κατὰ πρυτανείαν ---]δωρος Καλλιστράτου Βερνικίδης in *Hesperia*, XI (1942), No. 36. The γραμματεὺς περὶ τὸ βῆμα in this inscription is Θεο[---]Ἀθ[μ]ονεύς, and since these two secretaries are one and the same in this period the above restoration is impossible.

²⁸ The demotic of Πυθόδωρος being Βερνικίδης [Ptolemais V] (cf. note 26 *supra*), we may date him either in 177/8 or 190/1. Since Dittenberger dates this prytany list *ca.* 180 A. D., the writer chooses the earlier limit.

²⁹ The prytany list *I. G.*, II², 1790, which contains Εὐχάριστος Παρμόνου Ἐπιεικίδης (Kekropis IX) as secretary, must be dated in the archonship of Μ. Φλάκκος Μαραθώνιος (cf. *I. G.*, II², 1739, 1791) who now can be definitely dated in 181/2, preceding the ἀναρχία of 182/3 (cf. *I. G.*, II², 1739).

³⁰ The deme Ἐποιάδαι may belong to Hippothontis X or Antiochis XII. Since the secretary Mysticus belongs to the ἀναρχία after Flaccus he can only belong to Hippothontis.

³¹ This is now possible because the ἀναρχία mentioned in *I. G.*, II², 1776, 1781 falls in the 34th year of the paidotribia of Abascantus. The perfect sequence of a tribal cycle in the secretaries of 167/8–169/70 shows that Kolbe's dating of Abascantus is now a certainty.

³² The writer is indebted to Prof. Oliver for valuable information about the demotics of several secretaries discussed in this paper.

COASTAL DEFENSE IN THE ROMAN WORLD.

That a country bordering the sea must be prepared to defend its coasts has until recently been one of those truisms which the ordinary individual admitted and, having admitted, promptly forgot. Students of the Roman world thus have noted the fact that Rome had coasts to defend but generally ignore the methods of defense. Yet these latter have their interest today and are not without importance in the general history of the Roman state.

In the ancient Mediterranean, coastal defense was a difficult task, inasmuch as it entailed the protection of the shore not only against invasions in time of war but also against sporadic piratical incursions. For this protection a state generally had the choice of two main methods, one "active" and one "passive." The active defense relied on a navy to seek out the enemy before he approached the coast; the passive defense consisted in fortifying the shoreline itself. Throughout their history the Romans used both procedures, and one conclusion which may be drawn from a study of their experience is the fact that a passive defense is at some times and in some places the most economical means of guarding a shore. The relative emphasis which the Roman state placed on the two methods was subject to interesting variations; to sum up briefly, it may be said that the Roman Republic relied primarily on a passive defense but often found this inadequate, while the Roman Empire drew the appropriate moral and depended on an active defense until the third century of our era. Thereafter the state weakened and reverted to the Republican policy. Since the naval aspect of this defense has been treated elsewhere,¹ I shall deal here more especially with the nature of the passive defense. The character of our evidence will dictate particular attention to conditions in the Empire, but one may discern the main lines of policy in the Republic.

¹ See especially F. W. Clark, *The Influence of Sea-power on the History of the Roman Republic* (Menasha, 1915); L. A. Stella, *Italia antica sul mare* (Milan, 1930); Chester G. Starr, *The Roman Imperial Navy*, 31 B. C.-A. D. 324 (Ithaca, 1941).

I

The Romans first acquired a shoreline in the middle of the fourth century B. C., when they established their rule over the salt industry at the mouth of the Tiber. They met therewith the problem of coastal protection, for piracy was rife at this time in the Tyrrhenian; Livy notes an incursion on the Roman littoral by Sicilian pirates in 349. Indeed the Roman advance to the sea may have been dictated by their desire to ensure protection for the area against such raids. As yet, however, the Romans were unwilling to create a naval establishment and accordingly accepted the solution which has satisfied many another people approaching the problem for the first time, that is, the direct control of the shore itself. In keeping with their practice of sending out colonies to dangerous regions, the Romans established a maritime colony about 350 B. C. at Ostia, just south of the Tiber mouth.² A fort was constructed, about which the colonists received their individual small farms; and here they with their descendants continued to form a garrison of trained men always on hand to repel any marauders. At times they might prevent a hostile landing; more generally they must have come up after the pirates had landed, in which case they destroyed the galley drawn up on the shore and cut off the retreat of those who had pushed inland for booty.

Within the next fifty years after the founding of Ostia the Roman state slowly discovered additional means of coping with dangers from the sea. When it conquered the town of Antium, a nest of pirates not far south of Ostia, in 338 B. C., the ships of the natives were taken away, and they were forbidden the sea: the peace of the coasts might also be assured by disarming Rome's foes.³ Shortly after this the Roman people laid the foundation of a navy by establishing the office of *duovir navalis* and by assigning to each of the two admirals a squadron of ten galleys.

² The excavations at Ostia have disclosed this early fort, which is probably to be dated not much later than 350 B. C. Ernst Kornemann, *Phil. Wochenschr.*, LI (1931), cols. 377-379, suggests 426 and 338 as the outside limits on either side; see also Lothar Wickert, *C. I. L.*, XIV, Supplement, p. 609, and the articles by Calza there cited. Pirates in 349: Livy, VII, 25, 5; 26, 13-15.

³ Livy, VIII, 14; Strabo, V, 3, 5; Florus, I, 11.

This modest fleet was apparently designed for minor operations; the evidence suggests that the navy was usually put in commission only in time of war and was then used to ravage the enemy coasts.⁴

Thus the Roman fleet made no attempt to prevent Pyrrhus of Epirus from landing in southern Italy in 280 or to hinder his withdrawal some years later; throughout this period the state continued in the main to rely upon maritime colonies with some coöperation from various Greek cities. The treaties with Tarentum, Thurii, and other south Italian cities after the war with Pyrrhus probably included a provision that these towns should not let in any enemies, and presumably they were to guard their coastline against marauders; Massilia at the mouth of the Rhone for long undertook a similar guard on the Riviera coast of Gaul.⁵ The maritime colonies themselves were founded in bursts after each major war during the third century B. C. Following Antium in 338 and Tarracina in 329, the Pontian Islands were colonized in 313; Minturnae and Sinuessa in 296; Castrum Novum in Picenum in 290/286; Sena Gallica in 283. The end of the First Punic War brought Aesis, inland on the river of the same name, and Alsium in 247, Fregene in 245, and a Latin colony at Brundisium in 244. Gaps in the system of passive defense became particularly evident as a result of the war against Hannibal, and during the wars with Philip V of Macedon and Antiochus III of Syria, 200-190, the Romans were greatly, though unwarrantably, afraid that one or the other might invade southern Italy. Accordingly maritime colonies were settled in 194 at Volturnum, Liternum, Puteoli, Salernum, Buxentum, Tempa, Croton, and Sipontum. Potentia and Pisaurum in 184, Graviscae in 181, and Luna in 177 brought an end to this activity, and to the foundation of maritime colonies generally.⁶

⁴ Livy, IX, 30, 4. In 310 the fleet pillaged Nuceria, *ibid.*, IX, 38, 2-3. Cf. Starr, *s. v.* "Duoviri navales" in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (to be published).

⁵ Strabo, IV, 1, 5 and 9.

⁶ Kornemann, *R.-E.*, *s. v.* "Coloniae," cols. 520-521; Theodor Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte*, I (10th ed., Berlin, 1907), pp. 412-417. The Roman fear of an invasion in 200-190 is brought out by G. T. Griffith, "An Early Motive of Roman Imperialism," *Cambridge Historical Journal*, V (1935), pp. 1-14.

Except in the case of Brundisium, and also in two instances after the Hannibalic War, when the urgency of the need led the Romans to use Latin allies, all of these colonies were composed of Roman citizens, three hundred families being the usual size of the garrison. From this emphasis on the citizen character of the maritime settlements one may deduce both the importance of the colonies in Roman eyes and at the same time the limited extent of their functions. The plan of studding the coastline thus with clumps of land-loving Romans seems more directly an effort to deny vital harbors to the enemy than an attempt to fashion a system of naval bases. Although the latter purpose may incidentally have been met, the true reasoning of the state is probably reflected in the observation of the geographer Strabo that since Italy has few good harbors it can easily be defended.⁷ As a method of guarding the coast the policy of colonies essentially satisfied the Roman desires—otherwise the state would not have adhered to it so steadily—but one cannot believe that it was a complete answer to piracy.

Nor, again, was this passive defense the primary reason why Italian shores were not menaced by invaders more often. It must be remembered that from the middle of the third century B. C. the great wars against Carthage had forced the Romans to maintain a navy. After the initial fighting in Sicily at the beginning of the First Punic War, the Roman state had realized that Carthage must be defeated on the sea and had set about the construction of large fleets. Although these were defeated on occasions by the Carthaginians or more often were wrecked by storms, the Carthaginians were unable to harass the Italian coasts to any extent. In the Second Punic War Rome retained mastery of the sea throughout, and Carthaginian ships appeared off Italy on very few occasions. At these times, however, the chain of Roman colonies did not prevent the landing of Carthaginian troops to reinforce Hannibal.⁸ The terms of peace in 202 included the

⁷ Strabo, VI, 4, 1. The four *quaestores classici* established by the people in 267 B. C. probably supervised the coastal defense; both their duties and their areas of action are obscure. The evidence is collected by Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II (1st ed., Berlin, 1874), pp. 535-537.

⁸ E. g., Livy, XXIII, 41, 10. The difficulties which galleys experienced on long, uninterrupted trips must be kept in mind as a partial explanation for their rarity.

almost total disarmament of Carthage; after similar provisions had been dictated to Philip in 196 and to Antiochus in 190, no organized fleets remained in the Mediterranean to challenge Roman control of the sea.

The state therefore permitted its system of coastal defense to decay. The Romans had never been enthusiastic sailors and had during the Republic no idea of maintaining a navy in commission; after the Punic Wars they had to prepare a fleet in great haste for each new conflict and on its completion allowed the ships to rot away in drydock. The chain of maritime colonies was not abolished, but during the second century the inhabitants of the colonies lost their military zeal, and the local organization for maintaining and training a militia withered away. As for the provinces, no special measures seem ever to have been taken in this period; the guard of the *ora maritima* remained an incidental duty of the provincial governor.⁹

During the troubled first century B. C. the Italian coasts were once again threatened from the sea, so the Romans refurbished both their passive and active defenses. At the beginning of the Social War (90-88 B. C.) the Senate stationed freedmen as guards along the Tyrrhenian from Cumae to Ostia, and also obtained ships from the Greek cities of the East to patrol the coasts.¹⁰ After 80 B. C. the pirates of Cilicia, encouraged by Mithridates and by the generally disturbed conditions in the Mediterranean, extended their raids farther and farther west, and in 70-68 ravaged the shores of Italy itself, carrying off two praetors from the Appian Way and sinking a consular fleet in the port of Ostia. What measures of passive defense the state undertook during these years we are not told; the bold impunity with which the pirates proceeded demonstrates that the old system, however patched, was inadequate. The pirates could be put down only by being driven from the seas, and the Roman people entrusted this mission to Pompey by the Gabinian law of 67 which gave him command over all the seacoasts in the Mediterranean and fifty miles inland.

⁹ Cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 31.

¹⁰ Appian, *Civil Wars*, I, 49; Memnon, *History of Heraclea*, 29; I. G., XIV, 951. For a fuller study of naval operations during the first century, see Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, pp. 1-10, with the references there cited.

The unprecedented character of this command marks the danger which the Roman people felt; the whole episode, indeed, is of the highest significance. As a result of the incursions the Romans again became aware of the problems and importance of coastal defense, and the terms of the law indicate a perception of the fact that the peace of the Italian coasts depended on the peace of the entire Mediterranean shoreline. Here, moreover, we may see most clearly how the question of coastal defense could play an important part in internal politics. Apart from the effect of Pompey's extraordinary command on later political developments, the memory of the insecurity of the coasts and sea lanes had its influence in strengthening the demand for a strong government. In this connection it must be added that Pompey's whirlwind campaign in the early months of 67, though temporarily successful, did not eliminate piracy. For a few years Pompey secured the maintenance of a fleet in peacetime, and Cicero also tells us that members of the Roman equestrian class, probably with troops under their orders, were placed along the seacoast;¹¹ but these measures were soon dropped. Thereafter piracy revived and remained a problem down to the period of Augustus.

II

After the battle of Actium in 31 B. C. Octavian held the mastery of the Mediterranean and incurred therewith the responsibility of pacifying coast and hinterland alike. Looking back at the naval history of the Republic and more especially, from his point of view, at his difficult war with Sextus Pompey, he could come to only one conclusion: the policy of relying primarily on a passive defense or, more accurately, of neglecting an active defense had proved unsatisfactory even for Italy. To settle military colonies on all coasts of the Mediterranean was completely impossible, yet the pirate wars had shown that insecurity in Eastern waters could speedily spread to the West. Moreover, the chief impediment to the maintenance of a navy in the Republic no longer existed; with a permanent executive authority the state could now supervise and support a standing navy. Accordingly Octavian fashioned a large navy from the ships which he now

¹¹ Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 30.

possessed and so set a policy of active defense for the following three centuries.

A fleet at Misenum near Puteoli, with stations at subsidiary points on the Tyrrhenian coasts of Italy, Sardinia, and Corsica, defended the western Italian seaboard; another main fleet at Ravenna guarded the Adriatic; and two minor squadrons in the East, at Seleucia in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt, guarded Levantine shores. The great rivers on the northern frontier also received their flotillas, the German fleet on the Rhine with bases at Colonia Agrippinensis and other points toward the mouth of the river, and the Pannonian and Moesian fleets on the middle and lower Danube. Subsequent emperors added the British fleet, operating chiefly across the English Channel from Gesoriacum; the Mauretanian fleet at Caesarea; and the Pontic fleet at Trapezus. As finally established, these squadrons formed a well-integrated system for policing the rivers and seas vital to the Empire.

By itself, however, the navy could not guarantee that pirates might not slip out from creeks or hidden inlets for quick raids; and the Empire from the time of Augustus devoted much attention to controlling the pirate coasts. Augustus himself subjugated the Dalmatian tribes which plagued the Adriatic, took away their ships, and pushed the worst offenders inland so that they might not again have access to the sea.¹² Where practicable this method was applied elsewhere, but certain districts continued to need lasting, immediate supervision by an imperial officer with some troops at his disposal, both to prevent raiders from using the region as a base and also to guard the littoral against inroads from other areas.

This officer is generally styled *praefectus orae maritimae* in the inscriptions, from which we derive our chief information on the post. Provincial governors of the Republic had used their praefects on occasion to guard threatened coasts, and Pompey had secured the large-scale employment of such officers;¹³ but the

¹² Strabo, VII, 5, 6; 5, 4. Sextius had followed the same policy of driving the natives inland on the Riviera coast in 122 B. C. (*ibid.*, IV, 1, 5).

¹³ J. N. Madvig, "Quelques remarques sur les officiers dits *praefecti*," *Rev. Phil.*, II (1878), pp. 177-187, gives a clear account of the praefects on the governor's staff. For examples, cf. *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1905, 23; Eugen Bormann, *Bull. Inst. Cor. Arch.* (1869), pp. 183-185.

first praefect of the seacoast thus far known to have borne the title is C. Baebius, whom Octavian appointed to guard the coast of Hither Spain during the war against Antony. In 38 B. C. Bogud the Moor had operated from Mauretania against this shore, and Antony probably tried to stir up the Mauretanian tribes in 32 to repeat their raids.¹⁴

The appointment of Baebius was undoubtedly a temporary one, but other *praefecti orae maritimae* are attested for four points at one time or another during the Early Empire. There is no evidence that any of these praefects ever controlled any ships; usually they did direct some troops, but they probably used them to patrol a sector of the coast, just as the maritime colony had once guarded its district. Apart from their military functions they occasionally had to repress the activities of wreckers and may at times have dealt with smugglers.¹⁵ To fulfill these duties they must have had some jurisdiction in matters of general government over the natives along the coast, but in only one case, which will be noted below, does this seem to have been their main duty. With so much by way of summary, we may examine the evidence available for each of the four *praefecti*.

In the reign of Augustus the geographer Strabo describes vividly the pirates living at the eastern end of the Black Sea, who sailed in their two-prowed *camarae* even to the mouth of the Danube; he also notes that, while the local chieftains on the northern coast of Asia Minor defended their shores, the Roman officials did nothing. Early in the second century after Christ, however, Pliny the Younger mentions a *praefectus orae Ponticae* on the Black Sea coast of Bithynia-Pontus, an indication that the

¹⁴ Dio, XLVIII, 45, 1; *C. I. L.*, XI, 623. Appian, *Civil Wars*, V, 80, informs us that Octavian fortified the coast of Italy with watchtowers and garrisons during the war against Sextus Pompey; the commanders of this system may well have been *praefecti*.

¹⁵ In the *Digest*, XLVII, 9, 7, Hadrian permits those losing property to wreckers to complain before the "praefects," who are to take the culprits and send them to the provincial governor. See also *Digest*, XIV, 2, 9; XLVII, 9, 4 and 10; Dio Chrysostom, *Orations*, VII, 31-32, 51-56. According to the *Digest*, I, 8, 2 and 4, the seacoast was free to all; but Juvenal, *Satires*, 4, 48-49, 54-55, mentions "inquisitors" on the coast who swooped down on the fisherman and cites, perhaps in jest, legal opinion of his day that everything in the sea belonged to the emperor. The praefects may at times have proceeded on this theory.

Empire had tried to repair its negligence. Pliny itemizes the forces which this praefect should draw from the governor's troops as ten *beneficarii*, two *equites*, and one centurion. Although the praefect may also have commanded a local militia, the fact that the Pontic fleet at Trapezus had by this time brought order to the pirate coasts suggests that his original military task had yielded to fiscal duties.¹⁶ The praefecture does not recur later and may have been abolished shortly after Pliny's notice.

In the early first century Roman officials, designated simply as praefects in our evidence, appeared on the Black Sea at the mouth of the Danube. There can be little doubt that their full title, if expressed, would have been *praefectus orae maritimae* or some variant thereof, for their general military and administrative control of the seacoast appears both in a poem which Ovid indited to the praefect Vestalis shortly after the birth of Christ and in some letters of Flavius Sabinus, governor of Moesia 43-49. The latter, which were written to the coastal city of Istrus, suggest that the control and protection of the Greek cities along the Black Sea coast south of the Danube constituted the chief duties of this praefect; even though the Empire was not yet sufficiently interested in the region to annex it completely, the guard of these cities could not be left to the client kingdom of Thrace which occupied the inland regions.¹⁷ As a result the Roman organization of the lower Danube area in the last decades B. C. included the creation of a praefecture dependent on the governor of Moesia. Possibly the praefect commanded the cohort VII Gallorum, stationed at Tomis near Istrus, for the region needed a strong hand during the first century of our era to repel coasting pirates from the wild reaches north of the Danube and even to check piracy at the mouth of the river.¹⁸ The area of Salmydessus just

¹⁶ Pliny, *Letters*, X, 21, 86a; Strabo, XI, 2, 12; Tacitus, *Histories*, III, 47; Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV, 10, 25-30; Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 16; E. G. Hardy, *Plinii Epistolae ad Traianum* (London, 1889), p. 115. See also M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Pontus, Bithynia and the Bosphorus," *B. S. A.*, XXII (1917-1918), pp. 1-27, on a possible explanation of the praefect's fiscal duties.

¹⁷ Ovid, *Ex Ponto*, IV, 7; *S. E. G.*, I, 329. The organization of the region is discussed by Anton von Premerstein, "Die Anfänge der Provinz Moesien," *Jahresh.*, I (1898), Beibl., cols. 145-196.

¹⁸ *C. I. L.*, III, 7548; Carl Patsch, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde von Süd-osteuropa V, 1: Bis zur Festsetzung der Römer in Transdanuvien* (Wien.

above Byzantium, inhabited by the Astae, also had an unsavory reputation throughout ancient history as an abode of wreckers, who tolled ships onto the barren coast and then killed their crews. The Astae were active in Strabo's day, and Arrian, writing his *Periplus of the Euxine* under Hadrian, quotes a passage from Xenophon's *Anabasis* on the same subject—though this is scarcely strong evidence that the custom had escaped Roman suppression.¹⁹ By the time of Arrian, indeed, the praefecture on this coast seems to have been extinguished; in fact it does not appear in some letters written by governors of Moesia to Istrus in the 50's. After the annexation of Thrace by the Emperor Claudius in 46 and the ensuing reorganization in the region of the lower Danube a semi-independent praefect on the coast may have been an anachronism. At the very latest the post must have been swept away in the reforms following Trajan's conquest of Dacia, for by A. D. 107 the Moesian fleet had moved to stations at the mouth of the Danube where it could cut off any raiders coasting from the north.²⁰

The two other praefects were located in the western Mediterranean, one in Mauretania and the other in Hispania Tarraconensis. The *praefectus orae maritimae Mauretaniae* is known from one inscription only, which does not locate his precise sphere of operations. The whole Mauretanian coast, however, was unruly throughout the Empire; the Baquates and other tribes along the coast were never thoroughly suppressed, and on various occasions in the second and third centuries they even penetrated into southern Spain. Since the small fleet based on Caesarea and the auxiliary regiments in the area were insufficient to their task, the praefecture may have been an additional agency of control devised for a particularly unruly part of the coastline.²¹

The *praefectus orae maritimae* in northeastern Spain is better known than any of the others, inasmuch as a large number of honorific inscriptions set up to occupants of the post have sur-

Sitzb., CCXIV, 1 [1933]), pp. 127-140, 145-153; Adolf Wilhelm, *Beiträge zur Griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909), p. 205.

¹⁹ Strabo, VII, 6, 1; Arrian, *Periplus*, 25, 2-3 (quoting Xenophon, *Anabasis*, VII, 5, 12-13).

²⁰ Starr, *Roman Imperial Navy*, pp. 135-137.

²¹ *C. I. L.*, XI, 5744; Starr, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-120.

vived.²² Although these come from Tarraco, capital of the province and seat of the provincial assembly, the zone of the praefect's main operations lay to the north about Barcino. One praefect thus is called *praefectus orae maritimae Laeetanae* after a tribe which occupied the shore near Barcino, and another stone was erected by a citizen of that town.²³ In the inscription of L. Antonius Silo, a veteran of the Jewish war 66-70 and an officer in the regular army, we may have a record of the person delegated by the Emperor Vespasian to organize the coastal defense;²⁴ thereafter the praefect was drawn from the local aristocracy, but the praefecture was certainly not a rung in any municipal chain of offices. The praefect directed first one and then two cohorts of *tirones* or local militia recruited in part perhaps from Tarraco;²⁵ that he ever had warships attached to his command is a modern assumption unsupported by the inscriptions.

Unfortunately the stones do not disclose the reasons for the creation of the post. Most scholars have linked it with the need of protecting these shores against Moorish inroads, but there is no evidence that the Moors were active in the Flavian period or that they ever in the Empire came so far north.²⁶ Rather the praefecture should be associated with Vespasian's thorough reorganization of Spain and not so much with the possibility of external trouble as with the danger of piratical tendencies in the natives of the area. The northeastern coast of Hispania Tarraconensis is studded with excellent harbors, and the tribes in the

²² *C. I. L.*, II, 4138, 4189, 4213, 4217, 4224, 4225, 4226, 4239, 4264, 4266; *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1929, 230, 234; R. K. McElderry, "Vespasian's Reconstruction of Spain," *J. R. S.*, VIII (1918), pp. 60-61; IX (1919), pp. 89-92; René Cagnat, *De Municipalibus et Provincialibus Militiis in Imperio Romano* (Paris, 1880), pp. 16-24. See also Adolf Schulten, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Tarraco."

²³ *C. I. L.*, II, 4264, 4226; Strabo, III, 4, 8.

²⁴ *C. I. L.*, II, 4138; Josephus, *Jewish War*, III, 486. His tribe, Galeria, suggests that he was a native of Tarraco.

²⁵ Cichorius, *R.-E.*, s. v. "Cohors," col. 342.

²⁶ The fortification of Tarraco at the end of the first century (*C. I. L.*, II, 4202) was due as much to its importance as to the actual danger from Moorish raids. The *cohors maritima* of Cordova (*C. I. L.*, II, 2224) and the detachments of legionary troops in Baetica were probably used to protect the Baetic coast against the Moors; see *C. I. L.*, II, 1120, 2015 for evidence of raids in the area.

region long remained backward from the Roman point of view. Piracy is indeed not attested for the Empire, but the trade was not unknown along these shores in the Republic. In discussing the Second Punic War, Livy mentions towers on high points "which they use both as watchposts and as forts against pirates."²⁷ To judge from the number of honorific dedications the services of the praefects were continuous and valuable to the region; at the same time the fact that local men commanding native militia could cope with the matter indicates the minor danger of the problem. Under the Flavians the region probably became more peaceful; Barcino was a city of some importance by the reign of Trajan, and the *praefectus orae maritimae* may have ceased to exist by about the same date.²⁸

Apart from the praefect of the seacoast so called, certain other officers had similar functions and merit a passing glance inasmuch as they may help to explain the character of passive defense in the Empire. The *praefectus montis Berenicidis*, who appears first in A. D. 11 and recurs thereafter in numerous inscriptions throughout the Early Empire, is generally assigned by modern scholars the task of patrolling the coast of the Red Sea, largely because no other suitable official can be found in this region. Though the inscriptions make it plain that he was primarily concerned with supervising the mines and guarding the overland route between the Red Sea and the Upper Nile, they do not bar this additional mission—but certainly do not attest it.²⁹ The various small islands in the Mediterranean, especially in its western portion, required supervision, and most of them seem to have had their separate praefect or procurator. This officer kept an eye on local shipping, probably commanded a militia, and in some cases guarded the state prisoners relegated to island imprisonment.³⁰ And, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that rivers as well as seas have their shores; in the early days of

²⁷ Livy, XXII, 19, 6-7; also XXI, 61, 8-9; Strabo, III, 4, 6.

²⁸ If the commander of the *cohors prima* of C. I. L., II, 4213 was a praefect, the office lasted into the reign of Hadrian.

²⁹ C. I. L., III, 32, 55, 13580; VI, 32929; IX, 3083; X, 1129; *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1910, 207; *P. Hamburg*, 7. Cf. René Cagnat, *C. R. Acad. Inscr.* (1910), pp. 580-585; Jean Lesquier, *L'Armée romaine d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien* (Cairo, 1918), pp. 427-431.

³⁰ Pandateria, C. I. L., X, 6785; Malta, C. I. L., X, 7494; Balearic Islands, C. I. L., XI, 1331, 6955, 7427; cf. also Dio, LVIII, 5, 1.

Roman occupation on the Danube praefects appeared along its course as governors of one or more tribes (*praefecti gentis*) and also as guardians of the riverbank (*praefecti ripae Danuvi*).³¹ When the legions and auxiliaries moved up to the river and the fleets were fully organized, these agents were no longer necessary. A similar *praefectus gentis*, it may be noted, controlled the Cinithii on the Lesser Syrtes in Africa.³²

To sum up the available evidence then, one point which stands out clearly is the attention paid to the problem of defending the coastline. Such an attention argues an awareness of its importance, and in fact the literature of the Early Empire attests that the Romans had at last come to a dim perception of the significance of the coasts and seas in linking together their Empire.³³ In general the navy bore the brunt of the guard, for the Empire relied primarily on an active defense, alike in the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, the English Channel, and on the great rivers of the northern frontier. Such a method, however, was not practicable in certain areas, either because the Empire was not sufficiently interested in them to provide a costly fleet or because local conditions did not favor a naval supervision. In just such cases, and in no others, we find a system of passive defense; apart from the regions already noted, it is difficult to point out any shoreline of the Empire which needed a *praefectus orae maritimae*.³⁴

³¹ *Praefectus ripae Danuvi*, *L'Ann. Épigr.*, 1926, 80; *praefectus ripae Danuvi et civitatum duarum Boiorum et Azaliorum*, *C. I. L.*, IX, 5363; *praefectus civitatum Moesiae et Treballiae*, *C. I. L.*, V, 1838-39; a temporary officer to guard the Rhenish bank, Tacitus, *Histories*, IV, 55; *praefectus ripae fluminis Euphratis*, *C. I. L.*, XII, 1357 (probably to be associated with Trajan's campaign). The *procurator ad ripam* of *C. I. L.*, II, 1180, X, 7587, was a purely financial official.

³² *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10500.

³³ This is particularly manifest in the geographers. Pomponius Mela, describing the world under Gaius, proceeded along the coasts; and Pliny the Elder in describing Italy in his *Natural History* (III, 46) used material of Augustus but rearranged it so as to follow the shore.

³⁴ In only two regions might one reasonably expect to find permanent praefects who have not yet turned up—on the northern coast of Britain and on the southern and western coasts of Spain—but since both of these were closely controlled by legionary troops, further protection may not have been deemed necessary.

The system of coastal defense devised by the Early Empire represented the most highly developed form of protection which the ancient world achieved. That age-old insecurity of the coasts, which had once impelled the Greek city-states such as Athens to build some distance away from the sea, vanished, for piracy was almost entirely exterminated. For two hundred years and more this state of peace continued, but during the later third century the quiet of the Mediterranean was broken, not to return until the nineteenth century of our era. The Empire was beset by external war and internal strife over the throne; piracy revived; and on a few occasions barbarians burst into the Mediterranean itself. The navy, which had been sapped by the years of peace, broke under the stress, and several areas turned to local strong men for coastal defense. When these troubles had been put down, Diocletian and his successors felt themselves incapable of reviving the navy. Like the Romans of the fourth century B. C. they therefore tried the "simpler" means of forming a chain of shore defenses in the most seriously threatened areas.

Of these the *litus Saxonicum* in southeastern England is the best-known, and also the region in which the greatest measures of defense were taken; for this region of Kent, today's "Hell's Corner," received the first impact of the Saxon attacks. Carausius or Constantius built stone forts at some twelve harbors in the region at the beginning of the fourth century to serve as bases for garrisons; later a special *comes* supervised the system.³⁵ *Custodes litorum*, probably descendants of the municipal *limenarchae* of the late second century, were general along the shores of the Mediterranean itself; though they appear in the edicts of the Theodosian Code chiefly as agents to control commerce, communication, and so forth, they may also have had military functions.³⁶ This passive defense proved as unsatisfactory as that of

³⁵ *Notitia Dignitatum*, Occ., I, 28, 36; cf. R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 277-279, 285. A similar system for the river frontiers is attested by *C. I. L.*, III, 3330, 3332, 3385, 10312, 10313; Dessau, *I. L. S.*, 8913 (all under Commodus on the middle Danube); see also *Pan. Lat.*, VII, 13; *Not. Dig.*, Or., I, 42, 55.

³⁶ *C. Th.*, VII, 16, 1-3; IX, 23, 1; XIII, 5, 4; Eusebius, *H. E.*, VIII, 15, 1. *Limenarchae*, *Dig.*, L, 4, 18, 10; financial procurators, *C. I. L.*, II, 1085, III, 6065, VI, 8582. Note also *S. H. A.*, *Vita Maximini*, 23 (though this is not trustworthy evidence).

the later Republic, but an active defense grew ever more impossible as the Empire weakened. The Germanic successors to the Empire in the West continued generally to rely upon watch-towers and hill forts, for the fleet of a Visigothic Eric in the Garonne or of an Ostrogothic Theodoric at Ravenna remained exceptional.³⁷

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³⁷ Sidonius Apollinaris, *Letters*, VIII, 6, 13; Cassiodorus, *Letters*, V, 16-20. The Vandals used their fleets less to protect their coasts than to ravage those of others.

VIDEOR AS A DEPONENT IN PLAUTUS.

The extraordinary interest of the Plautine passages which form the subject of this paper lies in the fact that if the reading of the manuscripts is sound they apparently preserve a deponent use of the verb *videor*. In and for itself, this should not be so very surprising. Evidence accumulates in recent years, and especially since the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, that the so-called *r*-forms of the Latin language—*sequor*, *sequitur*, *sequimur*, *sequuntur*, for example—far from being, as was once thought, the result of an innovation of Italo-Celtic, contain in fact an old, inherited middle ending *-r*.¹ Their strongly medio-passive character is thoroughly consonant with the quasi-reflexive, or middle, meaning of kindred *r*-endings in regions of Indo-European speech as widely separated as Sanskrit and Old Irish.²

In Latin literature the meaning of the so-called passive forms of *video* is almost always "seem," only very rarely "be seen." It would be only natural, therefore, to consider these forms as being, from prehistoric times onward, middle rather than passive, kindred both etymologically and semantically with Homeric Greek εἶδομαι "seem." In Homer, alongside of middle forms of **ῥαδ*- meaning "seem," "appear" we find not infrequently other forms of the same base, equally middle, but meaning "see." Why not, then, in Plautus alongside of frequent occurrences of *videor videri* "seem" an occasional *videor videri* (*viderier*) "see"?

I refer of course to the Homeric contrast of such phrases as

τὸ δέ τοι κῆρ εἶδεται εἶναι (*Il.*, I, 228)

"but that *seems* to you to be doom," and

ἐέλδετο γάρ σε ιδέσθαι (*Od.*, IV, 162)

"for he wished to *see* you." In the first instance we have a middle form εἶδεται used intransitively in the sense "seem," in

¹ See E. F. Claflin, "The Indo-European Middle Ending *-r*," *Lang.*, XIV (1938), pp. 1-9.

² Cf. Claflin, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-6, 8-9. See also my paper, "The Nature of the Latin Passive in the Light of Recent Discoveries," *A. J. P.*, XLVIII (1927), pp. 157-175.

the second, *ἰδέσθαι*, also middle in form, is used transitively in the sense "see" and takes a direct object *σε*.

A like contrast is found in Plautus between the ordinary use of medio-passive forms of *video* in the sense "seem" and the deponent use of *videor*, *viderier* "see," which occurs, if the manuscripts are to be trusted, in the passages under discussion. Since such a deponent use conflicted, however, with the preconceived views of the nature of the "passive" of *video* entertained by editors, attempts to emend this interesting old verb out of existence, or to explain it away, have been numerous.

In *Curculio* 260-263 the dramatic situation is perfectly clear. Cappadox, the procurer, who has but lately emerged from the temple of Aesculapius, is about to tell his dream to the Cook, an expert, it appears, in the interpretation of dreams. He says: ³

Hac nocte in somnis uisus sum uiderier
procul sedere longe a me Aesculapium:
Neque eum ad me adire neque me magni pendere
Visu<m>st.

"Last night in my sleep I seemed to see Aesculapius sitting a long way off from me, and he seemed not to come near me or to think much of me." ⁴

The reading *uisus sum uiderier* has the support of practically all the manuscript evidence that we actually possess.⁵ In the sixteenth century, however, Lambinus, "*scripturae veteris obscura vestigia secutus*," read *tuerier*.⁶ Lindsay, reporting this remark of Lambinus, queries "an codicis T?"⁷ But Lindsay himself, the chief authority on the Codex Turnebi, considers it "very

³ All references to Plautus, unless otherwise indicated, are to G. Goetz and F. Schoell, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Leipzig, 1904-1913).

⁴ See Paul Nixon, *Plautus, with an English Translation* (*The Loeb Classical Library* [London, New York, 1917], II, p. 217).

⁵ Cf. G. Goetz, in F. Ritschl, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae*, edition revised and completed by G. Loewe, G. Goetz, F. Schoell (Leipzig, Teubner, 1879), *ad loc.*

⁶ Cf. *M. Acci Plauti Comoediae Viginti, Variae lectiones ac notae, ex D. Lambini aliorumque doctissimorum virorum commentariis, suo quaeque loco adscriptae* ([Lugduni?], Apud Petrum Santandream, 1581), *ad loc.* The title-page of this work, in the copy found in the Columbia University Library (Johnson Collection), is mutilated. It has Lambinus' readings in the margin.

⁷ See W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Oxford, 1903), *ad loc.*

unlikely" that Lambinus ever actually had in his hands this precious fragmentary manuscript.⁸ Lambinus' "loose way of quoting his manuscript authorities" is also commented on by Lindsay.⁹ It therefore seems most probable that in this instance, as in several others,¹⁰ Lambinus is confusing with a genuine reading of one of his "libri veteres" some contemporary scholar's emendation, designed to eliminate the unwonted deponent *viderier*.

The play on words, so characteristic of Plautus,¹¹ strongly supports the main manuscript tradition. Leo warns us: "verbum duplex ne moveris"¹² and compares, besides *Epidicus* 62, *Moscellaria* 270:

Non uideor uidisse lenam callidiorem ullam
alteras,

ibid., 820:

Non uideor uidisse postis pulciores,
and *Rudens* 255 (254):

Video decorum dis locum uiderier.

In view of these striking parallels it is not surprising that Hofmann, also, is skeptical as to there being any genuinely ancient basis for the reading *tuerier* and comments vehemently: "immo misella est interpolatio."¹³

Leo's tentative conjecture *videre ego* is rightly rejected by Hofmann, who remarks: Plautus non videtur novisse collocationem talem, qualis est *visus sum videre ego*.¹⁴

⁸ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *The Codex Turnebi of Plautus* (Oxford, 1898), p. 15. It is at least doubtful according to Lindsay (*ibid.*, p. 18) whether Lambinus had at his disposal any more extended collation of this lost MS than is supplied by the Bodleian marginalia.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Cf. Lindsay, *ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹ Cf. Morris Marples, "Plautus," in *Greece and Rome*, VIII, no. 22 (October, 1938), p. 6: "With his colloquialisms and slang, his snatches of Greek, his constant puns and plays on words, his love of verbal jugglery so reminiscent of Shakespeare, he [Plautus] evidently represents in his own way the speech of middle-class Romans of his period." See also, F. Leo, *Analecta Plautina, De figuris sermonis* II (Göttingen, no date), *passim*.

¹² See F. Leo, *Plauti Comoediae* (Berlin, 1895), *ad loc.*

¹³ See J. B. Hofmann, *De verbis quae in prisca latinitate extant deponentibus commentatio* (Greifswald, 1910), p. 22.

¹⁴ Cf. H. Jacobsohn, "Zur Flexion von *lavo*," *K. Z.*, XLII (1909),

There seems to be no good reason to reject the reading of the manuscripts, and it is in fact accepted in most modern editions. So in those of Leo,¹⁵ Lindsay,¹⁶ Goetz-Schoell,¹⁷ and Ernout.¹⁸

Verses 61-62 of the *Epidicus* occur in the midst of the lively colloquy between two slaves, with which the opening scene of the play begins. Epidicus has been thrown into consternation by the news that his young master, Stratippocles, who has been off to the wars at Thebes, has there fallen in love with a young girl captive and purchased her from the booty. This puts Epidicus in a desperate predicament. For, at the instance of this same Stratippocles, he has induced the young man's father to buy a female lute-player, really his son's innamorata, under the impression that the girl was his own lost daughter. No wonder that on hearing of the son's sudden shift of fancy, Epidicus changes color and his face becomes the picture of alarm.

Thesprio, the other slave, who has been with Stratippocles on the Theban campaign, exclaims:¹⁹

Nescio edepol quid tu timidus es, trepidas, Epidice, ita
uoltum tuom (61)

Videor uidere commeruisse hic me absente in te aliquid
mali. (62)

So at least all modern editors have reconstituted the lines, which appear in B J as follows:²⁰

Nescio edepol quid tu timidus es
Trepidus Epidice, ita uoltum tuum videor uidere com-
meruisse
Hic me absente in te aliquid mali.

That the beginnings of the two verses are now rightly arranged is shown by the Ambrosian Palimpsest, in which can be discerned:

p. 153; J. Wackernagel, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung," *I. F.*, I (1892), pp. 333 ff.

¹⁵ F. Leo, *Plauti Comoediae* (Berlin, 1895).

¹⁶ W. M. Lindsay, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Oxford, 1903).

¹⁷ G. Goetz and F. Schoell, *T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* (Leipzig, 1910).

¹⁸ A. Ernout, *Plaute* (Collection Guillaume Budé [Paris, 1935]).

¹⁹ For the unemended text of *Epidicus* 61-62 see F. Leo, *Plauti Comoediae, Volumen Prius* (Berlin, 1895) or A. Ernout, *Plaute*, Tome III (Paris, 1935). Leo puts a dagger after *tuom*; Ernout puts one before *ita*.

²⁰ Cf. G. Goetz, *Symbola critica ad priores Plauti fabulas*, in *Analecta Plautina* (Leipzig, 1877), p. 107. Goetz makes brief mention *ibidem* of the conjectures of earlier scholars.

?
NESCIOEDE
UIDEORUIDER²¹

In the former of the two verses some emendation is necessary, since, as it stands, it will not scan. There are too many syllables. With two minor emendations, however (*pol* for *edepol*²² and *timidu's* for *timidus es*²³), verse 61 scans perfectly as an iambic octonarius, a lively rhythm well-suited to the context, and continuing the passage of iambic octonarii that begins at verse 56:

EP. Dei immortales, út ego interií básilice. TH. Quid iam? aút quid est,

changing at verse 64, as usually happens when the moment of excitement is subsiding, to the trochaic tetrameter catalectic:²⁴

TH. Quid nunc me retinés? EP. Amatne istam quam émit de praedá? TH. Rogas?

No further emendation seems to me to be necessary.²⁵ Verse 62 is a good iambic octonarius as it stands. The reading *videor*

²¹ Cf. Goetz, *ibid.* The *r* of *videor* seems quite plain in the Palimpsest, according to Goetz's transcription, and should therefore be retained on the principle of the *difficilior lectio*. There is no conceivable reason why any scribe should change the easy reading *video* to *videor*. That is why, no doubt, Goetz, after citing the conjecture *video*, made by the sixteenth century scholars, Camerarius and Gulielmus, says: "tamen vehementer dubito eodemne iure *videor* in Ambrosiano quoque traditum in *video* mutarint necne." There is indeed a charming naiveté in the manner in which Gulielmus sets aside the testimony of our best manuscript, merely remarking: "Litterulam vnam extero, & pura puta Plauti cetera sunt. ita voltum tuum *video*. videre commeruisse Hic, me absente, i" (Iani Gulielmi, *Plautinarum Quaestionum Commentarius* [Lutetiae, 1583, *Cum privilegio Regis*], p. 135).

²² The reading *pol* is adopted by Goetz, both in the revised Ritschl and in the *Editio Minor Teubneriana*, and also by J. H. Gray (*T. Macci Plauti Epidicus* [Cambridge, 1893]). See also the important article by A. Luchs (*Hermes*, VI [1872], pp. 266-273).

²³ This is a rather obvious correction in view of the well-known weakness of the sound of final *-s* after a vowel in early Latin. Aphaeresis of the *e* of *es*, *est* after *-is*, *-us* is also common. The reading *timidu's* is adopted by Goetz (*Epidicus*, edition of 1878, cf. note 5 *supra*), Gray (see note 22 *supra*), Lindsay, and Goetz-Schoell (*T. Macci Plauti Comoediae* [Leipzig, 1910]).

²⁴ Cf. J. H. Gray, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

²⁵ See Excursus, pp. 78-9 *infra*.

uidere of P is confirmed by A, the famous Ambrosian Palimpsest, which belongs perhaps as early as the third or fourth century.²⁶ This reading should therefore be retained, if it can be interpreted successfully.²⁷ I would put a colon after *videor* and read the couplet as follows:

Nescio pol quid tu timidu's, trepidas, Epidice, ita
uoltum tuom

Videor: uidere commeruisse hic me absente in te aliquid
mali.

If now we take *videor* as a transitive deponent²⁸ (= *video*), with *uoltum tuom* as its direct object, and *uidere* as present indicative, second singular, the verses give very good sense. This is well conveyed, for example, in Nixon's lively translation:²⁹ "By Jove, Epidicus, you are in a fright and flurry over something; judging from your expression, I judge you've got into some scrape here in my absence." Nixon's rendering is particularly happy in that it preserves both the expressive alliteration of verse 61 and the characteristic play on words of verse 62.

The verbal pattern of the passage is, indeed, rather intricate; for we have first a triple alliteration of *t* in *tu timidu's trepidas*³⁰

²⁶ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Plautus* (Oxford, 1904), pp. 78-79.

²⁷ Cf. W. M. Lindsay, *op. cit.* (see note 16 *supra*), Praefatio, p. iii: "hanc mihi legem statui ut in consensu (AP) Ambrosiani codicis (A) cum Palatina quam vocant recensione (P) optimum illud testimonium quaererem, a quo nunquam fere discederem, nisi mihi persuasissem in eundem errorem et hunc et illum scribam incidisse."

²⁸ Cf. Th. Hasper, *Ad Epidicum Plautinam Coniectanea* in *Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Dresden-Neustadt* (Dresden, 1882), pp. 12-13. In his illuminating discussion of the passage, Hasper comments on the intolerable sentence structure that we get if we try to connect closely *videor videre conmeruisse*. On the other hand, he cautions against simply "rubbing out" the *-r*: "Videor vocabulum offensioni esse iam pridem intellectum est, quod tamen cave cum Gulielmo mutes in video." Hasper sees clearly that what we need at the beginning of verse 62 is a transitive deponent meaning "see." He would read *tueor*; but in the parallel passages that he cites, *Curculio* 260 (see *supra*, p. 72) and *Rudens* 254: *videor decorum dis locum tuerier*, scholars now read *uiderier*.

²⁹ *Op. cit.* (see note 4 *supra*), II, p. 283.

³⁰ On account of the alliteration I cannot agree either with Lindsay (*ad loc.*) in bracketing *tu* or with Leo (note *ad loc.*) in suggesting the omission of *trepidus*, both without any MS authority. The omission

and then a corresponding triple alliteration of *v* in *vultum videor videre*, the two alliterations subtly linked by the *t* of *tuom*. And in the play on *videor videre* we have not only the repetition of different forms of the same verb, but also, just as in the *visus sum viderier* of *Curculio* 260-261, a play on the two voice uses—transitive deponent "see" and intransitive middle "seem." This intricacy of verbal pattern strongly confirms the already strong manuscript tradition.

Videre is of course the regular, and, indeed, I believe, the only form of the second person singular present indicative, of the medio-passive of *video*, used in Plautus.³¹ So, for example, in

<Lor.> Omnis profecto liberi lubentius
Sumus quam seruimus. HE. Non uidere ita tu quidem,
Capt. 119-120.

The form contains in itself the original Indo-European middle ending of the second singular, *-se/-so³² and in its very make-up constitutes a striking part of the proof of the inherited middle nature of the Latin passive.

The deponent use of *videor viderier* which these interesting verses of Plautus appear to preserve is, on the other hand, exceptional. But that does not mean necessarily, especially in such an early author, that it is wrong. Lodge, though expressing himself with some caution, seems on the whole inclined to accept it.³³ And there is no better authority on the language of Plautus.

In this connection I should like to quote some words of wisdom of Edward P. Morris,³⁴ which, *mutatis mutandis*, have a direct bearing on the subject of this discussion: "There is doubtless some danger in the use of tables and graphic schemes of syntax,

of *timidus es* by a single MS (*E*) is not significant, since it doubtless represents simply some scribe's attempt to make the line a verse (trochaic septenarius). Cf. Leo *ad loc.*

³¹ Cf. Gonzalez Lodge, *Lexicon Plautinum* (Leipzig, 1904-1933), s. v. "video."

³² See my paper on "The Nature of the Latin Passive," *A. J. P.*, XLVIII (1927), pp. 160-161 and cf. A. Meillet and J. Vendryes, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques* (2nd ed., Paris, 1927), p. 303.

³³ *Op. cit.* (see note 31 *supra*), pp. 868-869. It was in fact reading Lodge's article that first drew my attention to the apparently deponent use of *videor, viderier*.

³⁴ *On Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax* (New York, 1901), p. 17.

the danger that they may become traditional and may lead to the ignoring of the irregular, the exceptional. Language is so haphazard, so complex, that the exceptional cases which do not fit into systems are the cases which deserve most attention and may afford suggestions for new discovery."

The two passages, in the *Epidicus* and the *Curculio*, defend each other. Since it is now recognized that the Latin deponent is the lineal descendant of the Indo-European middle voice,³⁵ this Plautine deponent, *videor*, *viderier*, confirms the writer's view³⁶ that the so-called "passive" forms of *video* are actually middles, parallel to Greek εἶδομαι, ἰδέσθαι.

EXCURSUS.

The numerous emendations which have been suggested for the text of *Epidicus* 61-62 have their origin, it seems clear, in the failure to understand the deponent nature of *videor*. None of them has met with any general acceptance and it has appeared to me hardly germane to my argument to discuss them in detail. Since, however, Duckworth in his recent monumental edition of the *Epidicus* (George E. Duckworth, *T. Macci Plauti Epidicus* [Princeton, 1940]) has adopted Wheeler's emendation *uoltu tuo* (for *uoltum tuom* of the MSS), it may be worth while to append a brief criticism of it:

1. The substitution of the ablative for the accusative instead of "solving the chief syntactical difficulty in the verse" (as Wheeler asserts) introduces difficulties. For

a) The omission of *te*, the subject of *commeruisse*, is very harsh. In Terence, *Phorm.* 205 f.: *si senserit te timidum pater esse, arbitrabitur commeruisse culpam*, *te* is not omitted but carried along from *te* after *senserit*. In the other instances cited in Wheeler's note (see Duckworth, p. 143), it is perfectly clear from the context what subject accusative is to be supplied. It is not so here.

b) The construction of *uoltu tuo* is hard to explain. English "I see by your face" is a misleading parallel. *Voltu* can hardly be an ablative of means. To a Roman, "I see by means of your face" would be unintelligible. The only natural ablative of instrument with *video* is *oculis*. Cf. Plautus, *Mercator* 183:

Ch. qui potuit uidere? Ac. óculis. Ch. quo pactó? Ac. hiantibus.

Nor could it possibly be an ablative of place where, without a preposition, since this construction in Plautus is extremely limited. Cf.

³⁵ Cf. E. F. Claflin, "The Hypothesis of the Italo-Celtic Impersonal Passive in -r," *Lang.*, V (1929), p. 238, n. 35; J. B. Hofmann, *op. cit.* (see note 13 *supra*), *passim*.

³⁶ See my paper on "The Middle Verb *vidēri*," *Lang.*, XVIII (1942), pp. 26-32.

Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus*, § 64. As Wheeler himself says, "the usual phrase in Plautus seems to be *e* or *ex uoltu tuo*." But we do not have an *ex* and cannot supply one; nor *in*, either, as suggested by Leo (cf. Duckworth, p. 142).

2. There is no MS evidence for the ablative. It may be true, as Wheeler says, that "it would not be difficult for *uoltu tuo* to have become *uoltū tuō* in the archetype of the MSS.," but we have absolutely no evidence that this actually happened.

3. *uideor uidere* is not Plautine, as stated by Duckworth (p. 143). *uideor uidisse*, which occurs several times in the poet (see Duckworth, *ibid.*), is different. It means "I think I saw" (or "have seen"). But *uideor uidere* must mean "I think I am seeing now" and has a subjective cast quite foreign to lively dramatic dialogue. This subjectivity of *uideor uidere* appears clearly in the examples from Cicero cited by H. Hafter (*Untersuchungen zur altlateinischen Dichtersprache*, pp. 39-40). The same dreamy quality pervades the *hac nocte in somnis uisus sum uiderier* of *Curc.* 260 (which is parallel to *uideor uidere*), but with comic effect.

A perfect illustration of the important distinction between *uideor uidere* and *uideor uidisse* occurs in Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. ii, 184-190:

Ham. My father,—methinks I see my father.

Hor. O where, my lord?

Ham. In my mind's eye, Horatio.

Hor. My lord, I think I saw him yesternight.

Ham. Saw? who?

Hamlet's "methinks I see," which corresponds to Latin *uideor uidere* is purely subjective and imaginary. Horatio's "I think I saw him yesternight" = Latin *uideor uidisse* brings us back sharply to reality. Hamlet's startled "Saw? who?" marks the change.

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TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE: A. D. 270-285.

In 1930 H. Mattingly undertook to prove that a number of the Roman emperors of the third century received their annual grants of the tribunician power on the anniversaries of their accessions rather than on December 10 of each year as Mommsen and others had supposed.¹ Mattingly came to the conclusion that, although the emperors from Antoninus Pius to Maximinus took the tribunician power annually on December 10 or January 1, Gordian III, Decius, and Probus seemed to have employed the anniversary system.² On the other hand, a more detailed study by Mason Hammond,³ which covered the period from Augustus to Alexander Severus, indicated that the Flavii used the anniversary system and that the emperors from Trajan to Alexander Severus renewed the tribunician power annually on a date somewhere between December 10 and January 1.

Although Mattingly's theories regarding the tribunician day in the period before 235 have not been accepted, there is something to be said in favor of his argument that the anniversary system was employed after the reign of Maximinus. If Mattingly had been willing to examine the epigraphical evidence more thoroughly, he might have strengthened his case for the later period, for it can be demonstrated that the emperors from Aurelian to Carinus (with the exception of Tacitus) did use the anniversary system.

We may first consider the reigns of Probus and Carus.

On the basis of the Alexandrian coins⁴ and the papyri,⁵ it may be agreed that Probus assumed the purple shortly before August 28, 276 (probably in July) and died soon after August 29, 282 (in September or October).⁶ This agrees with the epigraphical

¹ H. Mattingly, "Tribunicia potestate," *J. R. S.*, XX (1930), pp. 78-91. For an earlier study with a similar outlook, see H. F. Stobbe, "Tribunat der Kaiser," *Philologus*, XXXII (1873), pp. 1-91.

² Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-91.

³ Mason Hammond, "The Tribunician Day during the Early Empire," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XV (1938), pp. 23-61.

⁴ J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), pp. 218-219.

⁵ W. L. Westermann, "The Papyri and the Chronology of the Reign of the Emperor Probus," *Aegyptus*, I (1920), pp. 297-301.

⁶ A. Stein, "Zur Chronologie der römischen Kaiser," *Arch. Pap.*, VII (1923), pp. 47, 51.

and the other numismatic evidence, and it provides definite proof that Probus received his successive grants of the tribunician power on the anniversary of his accession. Probus was consul in 277, 278, 279, 281, and 282;⁷ thus, we may correlate his consulships and grants of the tribunician power as follows:⁸

Dates	Tribunician grants and consulships		Evidence
July 276-Jan. 277	tr. p. I		<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4881
Jan. 277-July	I cos. I		II, 1116; XI, 1178
July-Jan. 278	II	I	III, 8707
Jan. 278-July	II	II	no evidence
July-Jan. 279	III	II	XII, 5437, 5511; <i>E. E.</i> , VII, 693
Jan. 279-July	III	III	no evidence
July-Jan. 280	IV	III	no evidence
Jan. 280-July	IV	III	no evidence
July-Jan. 281	V	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 3738
Jan. 281-July	V	IV	Webb, 248
July-Jan. 282	VI	IV	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 1673
Jan. 282-July	VI	V	Webb, 249, 250, 251
July-Sept. (or Oct.)	VII	V	no evidence

If a similar table is worked out on the supposition that the tribunician power was renewed on December 10, it will be found that the inscriptions *C. I. L.*, II, 1116 and XI, 1178 cannot be used since there will be no place in such a table for tr. p. I cos. I. Moreover, the coins dated tr. p. V cos. IV and tr. p. VI cos. V will not fit into the December 10 system. It must be concluded, therefore, that Probus employed the anniversary system.⁹

Carus reigned from September or October 282 until December 283.¹⁰ Once again, there is evidence for the use of the anniversary system:

⁷ W. Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii* (Bonn, 1909), p. 31.

⁸ In the following tables, these abbreviations are employed: Webb: P. H. Webb in H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage* (London, 1933), Vol. V, Part 2. The numbers refer to coins. *A. E.* = *Année Epigraphique*.

⁹ A. Alföldi, "Zur Münzkunde der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit," *Blätter für Münzfreunde*, XLVIII (1923), p. 352; Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Stobbe, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79; T. B. Jones, "A Chronological Problem: The Date of the Death of Carus," *A. J. P.*, LIX (1938), p. 340.

¹⁰ Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-342.

Sept. (Oct.) 282–Jan. 283	tr. p. I	cos. I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 1117, 4760; VIII, 968; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 740; <i>A. E.</i> (1923), 16, 103
Jan. 283–Sept. (Oct.)	I	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 3660, 4102; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 227
Sept. (Oct.)–Dec. 283	II	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 5332, 10250, 12522

If Carus' second grant of the tribunician power had been conferred in December 282, the inscriptions *C. I. L.*, II, 3660, 4102, and *E. E.*, VIII, 227 would have to be discarded as erroneous, for Carus would have received his second grant of the tribunician power before his second consulship. It is highly significant that there are no inscriptions or coins which have tr. p. II cos. I.¹¹

The anniversary system was also employed by Carinus and Numerian, the sons of Carus. Carinus was made a Caesar before January 1, 283.¹² He was still Caesar when he held his first consulship in 283,¹³ but shortly afterwards he was made an Augustus.¹⁴ We also know that he held his second consulship in 284.¹⁵ Thus, we have:

Sept. (?) 282–Jan. 283	tr. p. I	Caesar	
Jan. 283–spring 283	I	cos. I Caesar	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4103
Spring 283–Sept. (?)	I	I Augustus	II, 3835, 4761, 4882 ¹⁶
Sept. (?)–Jan. 284	II	I	VIII, 7002
Jan. 284–	II	II	

Numerian was made a Caesar before August 28, 283,¹⁷ but it was probably not before the spring of 283 that he obtained this

¹¹ From December 10, 282 until January 1, 283 Carus would have had tr. p. II cos. I.

¹² In the Alexandrian coins Carinus appears first as Caesar and then as Augustus in the course of his first year (Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 166). *C. I. L.*, VIII, 7002 shows that he had his second grant of the tribunician power before January 284. See also *Vita Cari*, 10.

¹³ *C. I. L.*, II, 4103. Another inscription, *C. I. L.*, II, 4102, erected at the same time shows Carus as tr. p. I cos. II.

¹⁴ We know that this elevation occurred before August 28, 283 (see note 12 *supra*). The probable date is the spring of 283 when Carus was just setting out on his campaign against the Persians.

¹⁵ Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

¹⁶ These three inscriptions help to confirm the chronology suggested in notes 13 and 14. See also, *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10315 which has tr. p. I procos. Aug.

¹⁷ Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

rank. We know definitely that his elevation to caesarship came after that of Carinus.¹⁸ Furthermore, the fact that, when he held his first consulship in 284, he was tr. p. I cos. I¹⁹ would seem to indicate that he had not been granted the tribunician power until after January 1, 283. Finally, he did not become an Augustus until late in 283, for an inscription dated in the autumn of 283 refers to him as Caesar.²⁰

Turning now to Tacitus and Aurelian, the predecessors of Probus, we know that Tacitus, for special reasons, took his second grant of the tribunician power on December 10, 275,²¹ but it can be demonstrated that Aurelian employed the anniversary system.

Stein has shown that Aurelian assumed the purple shortly before May 25, 270 and reigned until some time in the autumn of 275.²² This chronology is supported by the evidence of the papyri,²³ the Alexandrian coins,²⁴ the literary sources,²⁵ and the researches of modern historians on the chronology for the reigns of Claudius Gothicus and Marcus Aurelius Tacitus.²⁶

Two facts about Aurelian's reign are, therefore, certain: 1) he received his first grant of the tribunician power in the spring of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 220. Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 122 (see note 8 *supra*).

¹⁹ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 427.

²⁰ *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10283. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 341. The elevation of Carinus to the rank of co-Augustus with Carus was commemorated in coin issues (Webb, *op. cit.*, nos. 152, 153), but there are no coins of Carus and Numerian as co-Augusti. Therefore, Numerian does not seem to have become an Augustus until after his father's death. Then coins were issued which proclaimed Carinus and Numerian co-Augusti (*ibid.*, no. 180).

²¹ T. B. Jones, "Three Notes on the Reign of Marcus Claudius Tacitus," *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), p. 368.

²² Stein, *op. cit.*, pp. 46, 50.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 46; B. P. Grenfell, "The Future of Greco-Roman Work in Egypt," *J. E. A.*, IV (1917), p. 6. Another view was taken by P. Schnabel, "Die Chronologie Aurelians," *Klio*, XX (1925-1926), pp. 363-368, but his arguments contradict one another. On this, see Stein, "Zeitbestimmungen von Gallienus bis Aurelian," *Klio*, XXI (1927), pp. 78-82.

²⁴ Vogt, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²⁵ For example, *Chronograph of 354* (5 years, 4 months, 20 days); Eutropius, IX, 15 (5 years, 6 months); *Vita Aureliani*, 37, 4 (5 years, 6 months).

²⁶ P. Damarau, "Kaiser Claudius Gothicus," *Klio*, Beiheft XXXIII (1934), pp. 24-31; Jones, *Class. Phil.*, XXXIV (1939), p. 368 (see note 21 *supra*).

270, and 2) he held the consulship three times—in 271, 274, and 275.²⁷

The following chart shows the inscriptions and coins of Aurelian which record his consulships and grants of the tribunician power:

Group	Tr. p.	Cos.	Inscriptions and Coins
1	I	—	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 15450; XI, 1180; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 796; Webb, 325
2	I	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 21985, 22361, 22564, 23066; IX, 5577; XI, 4178; <i>E. E.</i> , VIII, 775; <i>Corpus In-</i> <i>scriptionum Rhinarum</i> , 1939; Webb, 157, 158, 159, 324
3	II	I	<i>E. E.</i> , IX, 1
4	III	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , III, 7586; VIII, 9040
5	V	I	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XII, 5548
6	III	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 10017
7	V	II	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 10177, 10217
8	V	II desig. III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VI, 1112
9	VI	II	Webb, 185
10	VII	II	Webb, 16, 186
11	III	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , II, 4506
12	IV	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XII, 5456; Cohen, 177 ²⁸
13	V	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , V, 4319; XIII, 8904
14	V (or VI)	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XIII, 8997
15	VI	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , VIII, 5143; Mowat ²⁹
16	VII	III	<i>C. I. L.</i> , XIII, 8973

We may call the above chart Chart I, and, with this chart in mind, let us consider the two systems for reckoning the tribunician power—the December 10 and the anniversary systems—noting the groups in Chart I which provide confirmation:

CHART II. DECEMBER 10 DATING.

Spring 270–Dec. 10, 270	tr. p. I	Group I
Dec. 10, 270–Jan. 271	II	no confirmation
Jan. 271–Dec. 10	II cos. I	Group 3
Dec. 10–Jan. 272	III	I Group 4
Jan. 272–Dec. 10	III	I Group 4
Dec. 10–Jan. 273	IV	I no confirmation
Jan. 273–Dec. 10	IV	I no confirmation

²⁷ Liebenam, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

²⁸ H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain* (Paris, 1885-1888), VI, p. 194, no. 177. Webb, *op. cit.*, does not mention this coin, and even Cohen suspected its legend of being an error or a forgery.

²⁹ R. Mowat, "La station de Vorguin," *Rev. Arch.*, XXV (1874), p. 7.

Dec. 10-Jan. 274	V	I	Group 5
Jan. 274-Dec. 10	V	II	Groups 7, 8
Dec. 10-Jan. 275	VI	II	Group 9
Jan. 275-	VI	III	Groups 14(?), 15

CHART III. ANNIVERSARY DATING.

Spring 270-Jan. 271	tr. p. I		Group 1
Jan. 271-Spring	I	cos. I	Group 2
Spring-Jan. 272	II	I	Group 3
Jan. 272-Spring	II	I	Group 3
Spring-Jan. 273	III	I	Group 4
Jan. 273-Spring	III	I	Group 4
Spring-Jan. 274	IV	I	no confirmation
Jan. 274-Spring	IV	II	no confirmation
Spring-Jan. 275	V	II	Groups 7, 8
Jan. 275-Spring	V	III	Groups 8, 13, 14(?)
Spring-	VI	III	Groups 14(?), 15

It will be noted that Groups 6, 10, 11, 12, and 16 of Chart I will not fit into either scheme (Charts II and III). Since Aurelian held his second consulship in 274, he could under no circumstances have had tr. p. III cos. II. Thus, we can disregard *C. I. L.*, VIII, 10017 (Group 6) as an error of the stone cutter. The same reasoning will support the abandonment of Groups 10, 11, and 12.³⁰ As for Group 16 (represented by *C. I. L.*, XIII, 8973), it is clear from the other evidence that Aurelian was dead before December 10, 275 (or the spring of 276) when he might have received his seventh grant of the tribunician power.

We must now examine Charts II and III in order to determine which of them offers the preferable system of dating. Since we have decided to discard as inaccurate the evidence of Groups 6, 10, 11, 12, and 16, we still have to pass upon the validity of Groups 1-5, 7-9, and 13-15. Charts II and III make equally good use of Groups 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 14, and 15, and there remains only the problem of examining the evidence of Groups 2, 5, 9, and 13.

³⁰ Group 10 (Webb, 16 and 186) deserves some comment. Webb, 16 and 186 refer to the same coin, Cohen, 179. Others with a similar dating exist, however. The dating is clearly erroneous, for Aurelian could not have held his second consulship and his seventh grant of the tribunician power at the same time. The inscription *C. I. L.*, II, 4506 (Group 11) has disappeared. It was described only by Strada, an early epigraphist, and he may well have made an error in his transcription. In the case of Group 12, we have already seen the doubtful nature of Cohen, 177 (note 28 *supra*). *C. I. L.*, XII, 5456 was read in 1680 by Antelmi and it has since disappeared.

Groups 5 and 9 fit into Chart II, but not into Chart III; Groups 2 and 13 fit into Chart III and could not under any circumstances be fitted into Chart II.

Group 5, represented by *C. I. L.*, XII, 5548, may be eliminated at once, for the inscription reads Pro. V Inp. III Cos. P. P. and is thus altogether corrupt.³¹ Group 9 is represented by a coin (Webb, 185), but its evidence cannot be taken seriously. The coin itself is known only through the nineteenth century catalogue of Eckhel,³² and its existence cannot be established. Probably it is a forgery, for we have already observed the reasons for discarding its mate (Webb, 16 and 186).³³

The elimination of Groups 5 and 9 paves the way for the acceptance of Chart III. Group 2, which is represented by eight inscriptions and four coins, supports Chart III and could not be fitted into Chart II, although it is only fair to observe that inscriptions and coins which have only tr. p. cos. are not necessarily equivalent to tr. p. I cos. I.³⁴ On the other hand, the evidence of *C. I. L.*, V, 4319 and XIII, 8904 (Group 13), and perhaps also *C. I. L.*, VI, 1112 (Group 8), is conclusive. Group 13 will not fit into the system of Chart II.

Our final conclusion must be that Aurelian employed the anniversary system. This conclusion is based on the reasoning that: 1) Group 13 will not fit into the system of Chart II, 2) there are numerous inscriptions and coins which have tr. p. (I?) cos. (I?), but none which have tr. p. II with no mention of the consulship (see Chart II), and 3) the system represented by Chart III is supported by more copious evidence than that of Chart II. Finally 4), Chart III makes good use of *all* the reliable evidence gathered from all sources, whereas Chart II does not.

From the foregoing argument it should be clear that the anniversary system was employed by Aurelian, Probus, Carus, Carinus, and Numerian: only Tacitus did not use it.

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³¹ Probably tr. p. III cos. I was intended. Thus, the inscription should be placed in Group 4.

³² J. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum* (Bonn, 1828), VIII, p. 481. See also, Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

³³ See note 30 *supra*.

³⁴ *Corpus Inscriptionum Rhenanarum*, 1939, for example, has tr. p. cos., but it may date from 273-275. See L. Homo, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Aurélien* (Paris, 1904), p. 351.

THE ARISTOPHANIC BIRD CHORUS—A RIDDLE.

There is probably no single tradition in the history of Greek Comedy more universally familiar than that which sets the number of the Comic chorus at twenty-four. This figure appears three or four times in the Aristophanic scholia, is repeated by Pollux, and recurs several times in other late sources.¹ It is all the more curious, therefore, that in the one play which now affords us the opportunity of testing this statement for ourselves, namely the *Birds* of Aristophanes, the scholiast should offer us this standard information in a qualified and hesitant way. His remarks are appended to line 297, which is that point in the parodos where Pisthetaerus names the first bird entering from the crowd at the doorway.

From this (bird) the enumeration of the persons contributing to the chorus,—twenty-four, those listed before being taken in excess. . . . Counting from here you will find the twenty-four persons of whom the Comic chorus is composed.²

Thus we see that in order to retain the traditional number twenty-four the scholiast is compelled to "count from here," and to "take those listed before in excess,"—i. e., *extra numerum*.

This directs our attention to the other birds who for some reason are left out of the count. These are the four which are elaborately introduced and described in the earlier part of the parodos, in lines 267-293. They are the Phoenicopter, the Mede, the second Hoopoe, and the Gobbler. The function of these four has always been a standing puzzle. They have been variously and vaguely described as "aristocratic birds,"³ "an advance guard probably of musical accompanists,"⁴ or "an ornamental spectacle."⁵ Zielinski frankly confesses that "their purpose is

¹ Schol. *Ach.* 211, *Eq.* 589, *Av.* 297; Pollux, IV, 109. See testimonia in A. Müller, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Bühnenalterthümer* (Freiburg, 1886), p. 203, n. 5.

² οὗτος δὲ πέρδιξ,—ἀπὸ τούτου ἡ καταρίθμησις τῶν εἰς τὸν χορὸν συντεϊνόντων προσώπων κδ', ἐν περὶ τῶν ληφθέντων τῶν προκατειλεγμένων . . . ἐντεῦθεν ἀριθμήσας εὐρήσεις τὰ κδ' πρόσωπα ἐξ ὧν ὁ κωμικὸς χορὸς συνίσταται.

³ T. Kock, ed., *Die Vögel* (3rd ed., Berlin, 1894), Einl., p. 28.

⁴ W. W. Merry, ed., *The Birds* (4th ed., Oxford, 1904), note on line 263.

⁵ J. van Leeuwen, ed., *Aves* (Leyden, 1902), note on line 267: "insolita forma pennarumque splendore admirationem moverunt."

quite obscure,"⁶ while Rogers states dogmatically that "the four birds enter singly . . . pass before the audience and disappear."⁷

Alone among modern scholars Willems has suggested that these four may have served as *coryphaeus* and *parastatae* and may thus have been an integral part of a chorus of twenty-eight members.⁸ This suggestion has nowhere been favorably received, partly, no doubt, because no ancient reference to a twenty-eight-man chorus can be found, but chiefly because heretofore there has been no actual demonstration that these four birds are indispensable to the performance of the other twenty-four. It is the purpose of this paper to show that this is true and that the whole symmetry of the choral evolutions depends on the continued presence of these four as participants in a twenty-eight-member unit.

We may begin by examining a remarkable statement by the scholiast on line 589 of the *Knights*:

The Comic chorus consisted of men and of women as well, . . . twenty-four, just as this author too has enumerated in the *Birds* twelve male birds and the same number of females.⁹

Of modern scholars some have blindly accepted this statement,¹⁰ others have rejected it as untrue,¹¹ while most have completely disregarded it. No one has satisfactorily explained it. The complete list of the twenty-four birds as given in lines 297-305 follows.¹² By noting the grammatical genders it is possible to check the actual distribution of the sexes.¹³

⁶ *Die Gliederung d. Altattischen Komödie* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 306, n. 1.

⁷ B. B. Rogers, ed., *The Birds* (London, 1906), note on line 268.

⁸ A. Willems, "Notes sur les Oiseaux d'Aristophane," *Bull. de l'Acad. Roy. de Belgique*, 3. Sér., XXXII (1896), p. 609: "Le chœur comique, qu'il fût disposé par rangs ou par files, avait toujours quatre chefs de files. Ce serait ces quatre choreutes, c'est à dire, le coryphée et ses trois parastates. . . ."

⁹ *συνεστήκει δὲ ὁ χορὸς ὁ κωμικὸς ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἤδη καὶ γυναικῶν . . . καὶ ὡς καὶ οὗτος ἀπηριθμήσεν ἐν Ὀρνισιν, ἀρρένας μὲν ὄρνις ἑβ', θηλέας δὲ τοσαύτας.*

¹⁰ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s. v. "Chorus," n. 85: "Le chœur des Oiseaux est composé de douze oiseaux males et de douze femelles." So similarly Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 f., and van Leeuwen, *op. cit.*, n. 2 on lines 297 ff.

¹¹ Merry, *op. cit.*, note on line 298: "It is impossible to follow the scholiast in dividing the birds into two equal groups of males and females."

¹² Male birds are marked +, females §.

¹³ It is, of course, true that normally the grammatical gender of the

+ πέρδιξ + ἀτταγᾶς + πηνέλοψ § ἀλκύν + κειρύλος § γλαῦξ
 § κίττα § τρυγών § κορυδός¹⁴ + ἐλεᾶς § ὑποθυμῖς § περιστέρα
 + νέρτος + ἰέραξ § φάττα + κόκκυξ + ἐρυθρόπους § κεβλήπυρις
 § πορφυρίς § κερχνῆς § κολυμβίς § ἀμπελῖς § φήγη + δρύοψ.

Careful examination of this list will show a total of ten males and fourteen females. This is in apparent contradiction to the statement of the scholiast. If, however, to the twenty-four here enumerated we add the four birds, all male,¹⁵ who have previously entered, the distribution between the sexes is exactly even,—fourteen males and fourteen females. Thus it seems very probable that the scholiast in his bungling way has attempted to combine the principle of evenly balanced ἡμιχόρια, of males and of females, with a fixed idea that the chorus must contain only the traditional twenty-four members.¹⁶

This even distribution of the sexes, confusedly hinted at by the scholiast and confirmed by direct examination, is in itself very suggestive. Closer scrutiny, however, of lines 294-305 yields still more conclusive proof of the necessary unity of this twenty-eight-member group. After exclamations by Pisthetaerus and Euelpides at the "devilish crowd" of birds whose flutterings obscure the doorway, the first six are introduced one after the other¹⁷ with a certain amount of descriptive by-play. The remaining eighteen are then told off by the Hoopoe without

name of a bird has no correlation with the sex of the individual bird. The point is that in this play for purposes of his own Aristophanes, as will be shown, has chosen to assume this correlation. Moreover the objection of van Leeuwen, *loc. cit.*, "Genus grammaticale in orchestra ostendi non potuit," is clearly false in view of the ubiquitous Comic phallus. This may be seen in the well-known Bird-Chorus oinochoe in the British Museum, cf. *J. H. S.*, II, pl. xiv b 1.

¹⁴ It has probably been the failure to observe that the κορυδός is regarded as feminine in this play (cf. line 472 and schol.: *θηλυκῶς εἶρηκε τὴν κορυδόν*. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τοὺς κορυδοὺς) which has thrown previous investigators off the track.

¹⁵ + φοινικόπτερος + Μῆδος + ἐποψ + κατωφαγᾶς.

¹⁶ The remainder of this scholium, not here quoted, states in a confused way that sometimes, when the chorus is composed of both males and females, there is a proportion of thirteen males to eleven females. This has never been explained. Is it possible that we have here a garbled record of the inaccurate count of the bird chorus into thirteen females and eleven males? See note 14 *supra*.

¹⁷ Cf. line 299: *τίς γάρ ἐσθ' οὔπισθεν αὐτῆς*.

interruption in three lines, each of which lists six birds. It is extremely probable that this method of introduction in four sections of six birds each was designed to accord with the standard arrangement of the Comic chorus in six-unit *στοῖχοι* or ranks, and four-unit *ζῦγα* or files.¹⁸ We are further informed that the first rank was especially selected because of its conspicuous position nearest the audience.¹⁹ This last fact best explains the particular pains which Aristophanes has taken in the elaborate introduction of the first six. We may then set down the precise arrangement of these twenty-four birds after they have all entered the orchestra at line 306 and before they have begun their strophic ode at line 327. The following diagram, in which F indicates the female, and M the male birds will show their position.

Audience						
ζ	η	θ	ι	κ	λ	
F	M	F	M	M	M	στοῖχος α'
F	F	M	F	F	F	στοῖχος β'
<hr/>						
F	M	M	F	M	M	στοῖχος γ'
M	F	F	F	F	F	στοῖχος δ'
Scene-building						

This arrangement is highly significant when we bear in mind that the only conceivable reason for dividing a chorus evenly into males and females is to permit the symmetrical evolutions of equally balanced *ἡμυχόρια*. Note, therefore, that if these twenty-four birds are divided in two horizontally, i. e., *στοῖχοι* 1 and 2 from *στοῖχοι* 3 and 4, the result shows five males and seven females in each *ἡμυχόριον*. If again they be divided vertically, i. e., *ζῦγα* 1 to 3 from *ζῦγα* 4 to 6, again the result shows five males and seven females. Thus, whichever way the division is made, each *ἡμυχόριον* needs two more males to complete the balance of the sexes. In other words if the four male birds already in the orchestra join this group of twenty-four, the dramatist is able to divide the total group of twenty-eight into

¹⁸ Pollux, IV, 109 and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹⁹ Schol. Aristides, III, p. 536 Dindorf, cited by Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 206, n. 2.

ἡμιχόρια of seven males and seven females each in two different ways, either κατὰ στοίχους or κατὰ ζῦγα.

It is, of course, almost beyond mathematical possibility that this perfect double symmetry can be due to mere chance. Indeed, once it has been pointed out, we can see the elaborate preparations which Aristophanes has made for it, particularly in lines 302-4 where the last three στοῖχοι are listed, one line to each. It is no wonder that modern scholars have been unable to identify many of these birds. Even for the ancient audience it was the gender, and not the species which was important. Even if the names of species were genuine in all cases, that audience certainly could not have identified them by their costumes. On the other hand, except for the conspicuous first στοῖχος which was more elaborately introduced, the others needed no further identification than that provided by the presence or absence of the familiar Comic phallus.

It will doubtless be possible in the future to extend this investigation in an attempt to discover evidence in the text of the *Birds* for the use made by Aristophanes of this principle of evenly distributed ἡμιχόρια. The question also as to whether these four male birds first introduced are actually the coryphaeus and the three parastatae, as Willems thought, remains still to be answered. Again one may ask whether there may not here be a functional parallelism with the unsatisfactorily explained increase in the tragic chorus from twelve to fourteen or fifteen.

For the present, however, it will be enough to formulate the results of this paper as follows. The chorus of the *Birds* enters at the parodos in two sections. Four carefully described male birds enter first and await the arrival in traditional marching order of the second group of twenty-four. These latter are introduced in a carefully planned succession with the sexes so distributed that the symmetrical addition to their number of the four males already present creates an augmented chorus of twenty-eight which is convertible at will and by two separate processes into ἡμιχόρια each consisting of seven males and seven females.

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CHARIOT FIGHTING AND A CRUX IN HOMER.

In the fifth book of the *Iliad*, during the general battle which follows the breaking of the truce, Tlepolemus and Sarpedon engage in combat. Tlepolemus is killed and Sarpedon is seriously wounded. Tlepolemus' spear has become lodged in Sarpedon's left thigh and is hanging from it. Sarpedon's comrades rush to save him. They carry him back from the fight and are so busy rescuing him that no one thinks to pull out the spear, ὄφρ' ἐπιβαίῃ (E 666).

The interpretation "in order that he might mount," that is, "step into his chariot" is found in the translation of Aemilius Portus (1584) and is generally accepted by editors and translators down to 1863¹ when it was attacked by Immanuel Bekker.² As a result, it has been completely given up. In all subsequent editions, except Paley's of 1866, these words are interpreted to mean "in order that he might stand on his feet."³ Since 1891 the translators, too, having got into the habit of consulting the learned editions of Homer, have adopted this interpretation.⁴ It is the only interpretation recognized by Ebeling and Cunliffe and in *L.S.J.* Furthermore, because this interpretation of ἐπιβαίνω is unparalleled and appears strange, some editors go so far as to regard the line as an interpolation.⁵ Bekker's only objection to the older interpretation is that nothing is said at this particular place of Sarpedon's chariot: "weit und breit umher kein wagen zu sehen ist."⁶ Ameis, in the edition of 1894, objects further that the absolute verb ἐπιβαίνειν is not an established expression for the idea of stepping into a chariot.⁷

¹ Editors: Heyne (1802), Crusius (1845), Dübner (1848), Paley (1866). Translators: Pope and Chapman omit any reference to the spear; Norgate (1864), Bryant (1876), Cordery (1886).

² *Homerische Blätter* (1863), p. 22.

³ Düntzer (1873), La Roche (1883), Ameis-Hentze (1894). This interpretation can be traced to Eustathius (592, 14) who says that ἐπιβαίῃ here means ὁρὸς σπείῃ. Clarke, in his first American edition (New York, 1814), brackets Portus' translation "ut currum inscenderet" and writes "ut incederet."

⁴ Purves (1891), Way (1910), Butler (1914), Murray (1930), Mazon (1937).

⁵ Nauck (1877), van Leeuwen and Da Costa (1895), Leaf (1900).

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ Ameis-Hentze, *Homers Ilias* (1894), part II, p. 105.

All of this, the objections to the older interpretation, the adoption of the new one, and the consequent doubts concerning the authenticity of the line, can be shown to proceed from inattention to what actually is said in the *Iliad* in regard to the use of chariots by the *πρόμαχοι* and to Homer's use of *ἐπιβαίνειν*.

Sarpedon was one of the greater champions, and like most of the others he possessed a chariot. Now these greater champions are usually represented by Homer as leaping down from their chariots to fight on foot. But, while the champion fights on foot, his charioteer always keeps chariot and horses close at hand.⁸ This is well illustrated in the combat between Patroclus and Sarpedon in the sixteenth book. The heroes have leaped down from their chariots and are drawing near to each other on foot. Yet, Patroclus, by his first cast, kills Sarpedon's charioteer. And when Sarpedon casts at Patroclus, the spear strikes Patroclus' horse Pegasus. Finally, when Sarpedon is killed, he lies outstretched before his horses and chariot (Π 462-485).

One of the chief reasons why the charioteer follows the champion so closely is that he may offer him a means of quick retreat if he is in danger or is wounded. Whenever a champion is so seriously wounded that he must leave the fight, Homer almost invariably represents him as retreating to his chariot or as being carried there so that he may be driven off the field.⁹ So, in the fourteenth book, when Telamonian Ajax knocks Hector down with a rock, the latter's comrades rush to protect him and some of them lift him up and carry him to his chariot (Ξ 428-432).

There are thirty other instances of *ἐπιβαίνειν* in the *Iliad*. It is used with the genitive twenty-eight times of "mounting upon" or "causing to mount upon" a chariot, ship, wall, etc.¹⁰ Once, in the fifteenth book, it is used absolutely, but so closely after the phrase *ἀπὸ νηῶν* that a genitive is easily supplied from that

⁸ N 384-386. Sometimes the charioteer is killed in place of the champion or along with him who stands immediately before the chariot: E 580.

⁹ A 339-340, 488, 516; N 533-539, 596-600; Π 657.

¹⁰ E 192, Ξ 299, with *ἄρματα τῶν*. E 221, Θ 105, A 512, 517, with *ὀχέων*. Θ 44, N 26, Ψ 379, Ω 322, with *δίφρου*. E 46, 255, 328, Θ 129, K 513, 529, Π 343, with *ἵππων*. Θ 512 with *νεῶν*. Θ 197 with *νηῶν*. I 133, 275, T 176 with *εὐνῆς*. Θ 165 with *πύργων*. Δ 99, I 546 with *πυρῆς*. M 444 with *κροσσάων*. Π 396 with *πόλης* "to set foot in." Θ 285 with *εὐκλείης* metaphorically, "to set one's foot on the way to."

expression.¹¹ It is used only once with the accusative in the meaning "traverse."¹²

From this it is clear that the poet, in describing the rescue of Sarpedon by his comrades, even though he says nothing of the chariot, thinks of it as being close at hand and means: "but no one thought to pull out the spear of ash in order that he might mount."

For nearly eighty years all editors and translators of the *Iliad*, in deference to the authority of Immanuel Bekker, have rejected the normal familiar meaning of ἐπιβαίνειν and adopted an interpretation for which no parallel can be found.¹³ In some instances, they have even rejected the line on the basis of this unparalleled interpretation. Bekker's objection is now seen to be vain and illusory; we must go back to the old interpretation which is unquestionably correct.

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ON SOME PASSAGES IN THE TRAGEDIES OF SENECA.

Herc. Fur., 356-7:¹

invidia factum ac sermo popularis premet.
ars prima regni est posse te invidiam pati.

This is the reading of the A class of manuscripts, while E, the famous codex Etruscus, omits the *te*. A close parallel in 347-8, with the same usurper Lycus speaking, proves that the *te* is excellent: *quod civibus tenere te invitis scias strictus tuetur ensis*. So it is allowable to alter neither *posse* (*noscere* Kiessling and Garrod; *pondus*, with *invidiae* to follow, Peiper; *pessimam* Summa) nor *invidiam* (*vim populi* Hoffa). For the blamelessness of *posse* see, moreover, *Thyestes*, 470: *immane regnum est posse sine regno pati*. *Invidiam* too is faultless, being a repetition of *invidia* in 356 with a different stress, a device dear to the more

¹¹ O 387 οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὕψι μελαινάων ἐπιβάντες.

¹² Ξ 226 with the accusative Πιερὴν.

¹³ Neither μ 434 nor *I. G.*, XII, 3, 1381 exhibits the meaning "stand on one's feet." In both instances the idea is to set foot on or to step up on something.

¹ References are to the first edition of Peiper-Richter, 1867.

elegant Roman poets. For Seneca cf. for instance *Medea*, 160-1: *virtús, virtutí*.

Herc. Fur., 1319:

letale ferro pectus impresso induam.

Editors have doubted that this is Latin, and Withof wrote *senile* for *letale*, cf. *Herc. Oet.*, 1862: *senile pectus*; Peiper *vulnus* for *pectus*; Delrio, starting from the *ferrum . . . impressum* of some MSS, *ferrum pectori impressum*. These conjectures are, all of them, more sensible than Peiper's other attempt, *laetare* for *letale*, but they fail to pay attention to the parallel in *Herc. Fur.*, 1033: *pectus in tela indue*, which shows that *pectus* at least is unobjectionable. Inversely 1319 proves that 1033 must not be altered as Bernhard Schmidt and Peiper did. To my mind the former of the two passages makes it clear that in the latter we should correct *letale* to *in tela*. Such self-repetitions are quite in the manner of Seneca.

Thyestes, 110-11:

pallescit omnis arbor et nudus stetit
fugiente pomo ramus.

The perfect *stetit* between the presents *pallescit*, 110, and *exaudit*, 114, is awkward, and Koetschau corrected it to *sitit*. Was it not *tremit*? In *Phaedra*, 517 the first edition of Peiper and Richter printed *ramique . . . tremunt*. There *ornique* seems to be the better reading, but the passage has nevertheless a certain interest for us, because the two successive lines, 516 and 517, end one on *fremunt*, the other on *tremunt*, just as in the *Thyestes*, if my suggestion is right, 110: *tremit*, 112: *fremit*.

Thyestes, 728-9:

cervice caesa truncus in pronum ruit,
querulum cucurrit murmure incerto caput.

Here too readers have taken exception to the tense, as *cucurrit* is preceded by four presents, *trahit*, *adicit*, *amputat*, *ruit*. Cornelissen's remedy, *susurrat* for *cucurrit*, is ingenious, but the dreadful detail of the head rolling away must be retained. It would be more natural to read *querulumque currit*, removing thus the not very attractive asyndeton between *ruit* and the following verb. See the similar case in *Herc. Oet.*, 1652: *arcus poposcit E, arcumque poscit A*.

Phoen., 498-9 (136-7):

hic (Eteocles) ferrum abdidit,
reclinis hastae arma defixa incubant.

This is the reading of E. The other class of manuscripts has *reclivis* (*reclinis* R) and an *et* before *arma*. Editors have not understood this, and Jac. Gronovius wrote *reclinis astat a. d. incubans*; Peiper the same with *incubant*. The simple truth is:

reclinis hastae parma defixae incubat.

The shield is leaning against the spear planted in the ground. The prototype of our line is Vergil, *Aen.*, XII, 130:

defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant.

Cf. also Livy, II, 30, 12: *defixis pilis*. When the *p* of *parma* had disappeared the archetype of the A class interpolated the particle.

Phaedra, 1194-5:

coniugis thalamos petam
tanto impiatos facinore?

For *impiatos* E has an unmetrical *impletos*. The article *impio* in the *Thesaurus* informs us that this would be the only passage where the verb occurs between Plautus and the archaists Apuleius and Fronto. I cannot believe that Seneca really used it and suspect that he wrote *inquinatos*, a verb which he has six times in the Tragedies.

Oed., 392 (Oedipus to Tiresias):

memora quod unum scire caelicolae volunt.

The translators take this as an elliptic phrase for *scire nos*, what the gods want us to know. It seems tempting to correct *caelicolae* to *Thebicolae*. The word is not attested but is correctly formed, cf. *Agam.* 325: *Latonigenas*. *Caelicola* occurs elsewhere in the Tragedies only once in a lyric, *Medea*, 90.

Medea, 957-9 (Medea speaking of her children):

Iam iam meo rapiuntur avulsi e sinu
flentes gementes oculis pereant patris,
periere matri.

For *oculis* there are, of course, some variants in the manuscripts or early editions: *osculis*, *occulis*, *sed oculis*. Richter took *ocius*, the emendation of Gronovius, into the text. Starting from *patris*,

the reading of A (E has *patri*), I write simply: *sub oculis pereant patris*. That is what the poor boys actually do; see 1001 (Medea about Jason): *spectator iste*; 1009: *te vidente*. Under their father's eyes they shall perish—they have perished already for their mother.

Agam., 1028 (Electra to Clytemnestra):

dixi parenti satis. Clyt. at iratae parum.

Codex E gives the whole line to Clytemnestra, the A class to Electra; the partition between daughter and mother is Bothe's. Mr. E. Harrison, writing in *C. R.*, LIV (1940), p. 152, objects to this because the change of persons (*antilabe*) does not otherwise take place after the third foot of the trimeter. Hesitatingly he would write *dixti* for *dixi* and render the whole line to the mother. Now *dixi . . . satis* seems warranted by *Phaedra*, 643: *satisne dixi*? Moreover, the shortened form *dixti* never occurs in the Tragedies. We should therefore acquiesce in the anomaly. The parallel from the *Phaedra* also shows that Peiper-Richter (first ed.) should not have put a comma after *dixi*. Such stops after the first foot are always suspicious. *Iustae*, the reading of A, is nothing but an interpolation, and it is a pity that L. Hermann should have taken it into his text.

Herc. Oet. 1643-5 (description of the pyre on Mt. Oeta):

*raptura flammas pinus et robur tenax
et brevior illex silva se complet rogo
populea silva, frontis Herculeae decus.*

The first *silva* is just as impossible as the first *iecur* at 1225, the more so as a third *silva* precedes in 1641. For *se complet rogo* (E) A has *contextit pyram*. Heinsius wrote *alba sed* for *silva se* which, with *rogos* for *rogo*, makes good sense. I should leave it as it stands but for one objection: according to the *Index Verborum* to the Tragedies by Oldfather, Pease, and Canter (1918), Seneca never uses *albus* in them. Our suspicion having thus been aroused, we find that it would be a nice idea if the wood of the poplar were to cover the top of the pyre, as expressed in A by *contextit pyram*. So I should venture a *summa* for *silva* which goes so well with *complet*.

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ADDITIONAL NOTE ON "WOOL AND LINEN" IN JEROME.

In his suggestive article on the passage in Jerome's letter to Fabiola: *vestis linea nihil in se mortis habens, sed tota candida* (LXIII, 207 ff.), Professor Johannes Quasten has shown that the opposition of wool (*tunicae pelliceae*), as a garment related to earth and death, and linen, as a garment of life (regeneration by baptism), goes back ultimately to the Pythagoreans and to Egypt. Perhaps I may be allowed to add another patristic passage in which the contrast wool (= the carnal) vs. linen (= the spiritual) obtains, though mixed with another contrast: exterior vs. interior. Augustine says (*Sermo*, XXXVII, 5: Migne, XXXVIII, p. 224), commenting on the verse *Inveniens lanam et linum, fecit utile manibus suis*, Prov. Sal., XXXI (this appears in the Vulgate as *Quaesivit lanam et linum et operata est consilio manuum suarum*):

Quaeritur autem a nobis quid sit lana, quid sit linum. Lanam carnale aliquid puto, linum spirituale. Hoc conicere audeo ex ordine vestimentorum nostrorum: interiora enim sunt linea vestimenta; lanea, exteriora. Quidquid carne operamur, in promptu est: quidquid spiritu, in secreto. Operari autem carne, et non operari spiritu, quamvis bonum videatur, utile non est. Operari autem spiritu, et non operari carne, pigrorum est.

The Augustinian tendency to center the essential of life in the spiritual interior of man (*noli foras ire, in interiore animae habitat veritas*) finds a symbol in the contrast offered by the two garments: the linen shirt, since it is closer to the interior of man, represents the spiritual; the woolen cloak which comes to rest upon the linen shirt is consequently exterior and may represent the carnal. The hierarchy: linen superior to wool, as inherited by the Christians from the pagan tradition, is now established on a new criterion, itself basic for Augustine: the relative closeness to the core of man.¹ This subtle conceit, betraying the "aberwitzigen

¹ In Alanus ab Insulis (†1203), *Dictiones* (Migne, CCX, p. 829), there is still another distinction: that between "strength" (monkish asceticism in regard to clothing) and "purity" (inner perfection):

Dicuntur fortiores qui sunt in ecclesia, qui cedunt ornamentum et indumentum Ecclesiae; unde de Ecclesia dicitur in Salomone: *Quaes-*

Tiefsinn des Mittelalters," in the words of V. Hehn (*Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* [Berlin, 1911], p. 129), is possible only at a period when the (linen) shirt had become a customary garment; previously shirts had been worn among the Romans only by women, and by women of noble degree;² it was under the influence of the Northern barbarians that Aelius Severus came to prefer fresh white linen to wool and even to Oriental garments of purple. For the growing popularity of the linen shirt among the common people in Rome, cf. Hehn, whose *Wörter- und Sachenforschung* serves to round out the picture sketched by Professor Quasten—as the latter, in turn, supplies a spiritual reason for the preference accorded to linen in Christian Romania.

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vit lanam et linum . . . per linum illi [intelliguntur] qui sunt poenitentes, qui per multam contritionem poenitentiae assumunt candorem justitiae.

As a matter of fact, during the Middle Ages woolen clothes were rather the traditional outfit of a penitent (O. Fr. *en langes e nuz piez*, see the passages in Godefroy).

² A reflection of this situation is to be seen in the meaning which has been preserved by *linea* in the peripheral Romance (or Romance-influenced) languages—Rumanian, Albanian, Sardinian: "woman's shirt" as opposed to the *camisia* "man's shirt," first attested in Jerome's letter to Fabiola.

REVIEWS.

GUIDO CALZA. *La necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra*. R. Istituto di archeologia e storia dell' arte, 1940. Pp. 369; 2 plans; 5 colored plates; 159 text illustrations.

No archaeologically-minded tourist who visits the fascinating ruins of ancient Ostia should fail to cross the bridge over the Tiber and see the highly interesting necropolis of the rival and neighbor of Ostia, the rapidly developed city of Portus, a child of the new harbor of Rome created by Claudius and Trajan. In olden days the poor lovers of antiquity (like myself) and those tourists who came to Ostia by rail had to cross the Isola Sacra, the land which lay between the Tiber and Trajan's canal (now a branch of the Tiber). It was a romantic place: a large meadow with hundreds of white cows and scores of fierce bulls so typical of the Campagna Romana. Now this "sacred island" (the name is late and still unexplained) has been turned from grazing to agricultural land by the efforts of the Opera Nazionale Combattenti.

The Isola Sacra has always been a mine of wonderful finds for chance diggers. It has waited, however, for the systematic work of reclamation to show its real character. During this work several excellently preserved tombs were discovered and a large group of them (more than two hundred) was subsequently excavated systematically by the Staff of the excavation of Ostia headed by the well-known and prominent scholar, Guido Calza. These excavations showed that the Isola Sacra was a large city of the dead, a necropolis where thousands of inhabitants of the city of Portus built for themselves, their families, and their households pretentious and expensive house-like tombs which formed a real city with streets, squares, etc. Between these richer tombs the *plebs* of the Portus buried its anonymous dead in modest graves of the usual type.

Systematic excavation of this burial ground began in 1925 and has been carried on for many years. The best preserved tombs were restored and an imposing group of them along the ancient road which crossed the "island"—the via Severiana—is easily accessible to students and other visitors to the ruins of Ostia. Several preliminary reports on the excavations have been published, a summary description of the necropolis is included in the excellent Guide of Ostia by Calza, and many spectacular finds have been discussed in special papers. Now in the volume under review we have an exhaustive, detailed report on the necropolis and the finds made therein, compiled by Professor Calza in collaboration with Mme. R. de Chirico for the archaeological part and the bibliography and with Dr. E. Bloch for the numerous Latin and Greek inscriptions.

I cannot go into a detailed analysis of this final report, excellently illustrated. It would take too much space. I may point out, however, that the illustrations, abundant as they are, should be still more copious and that some reproductions of the most important

finds should be better; that the treatment of the various problems presented by the necropolis is in some parts preliminary and sketchy and does not stress some important and basic questions; and that the bibliographical references are far from complete and sometimes disfigured by annoying misspellings. These shortcomings are of minor importance, however, in comparison with the wealth of new information which has been yielded by the exemplary exploration of the necropolis.

I may point out some of the most important revelations furnished by the discovery and study of the group of tombs of the Isola Sacra.

1) The group as such, exactly dated, presents in its inscriptions, architecture, painting and sculpture a vivid illustration of the most brilliant period in the life of the Roman Empire, that of the second and early third centuries A. D. It mirrors, however, one part only of this life: not the life of the great, of the leaders; it does not refer to great national events, nor does it illuminate the basic constitutional, social, and economic problems of the early Roman Empire. It reflects the life, mentality, religion, and art of a peculiar local group of a leading part of the population of the empire, the city bourgeoisie. I say a "peculiar" local group. Its peculiarity consisted in that it was formed, in this unlike the other sections of the imperial bourgeoisie of the Roman Empire, not of local men with their ancestral local traditions but of a medley of men of various origin, international in its character but thoroughly Latinized and Romanized, an overflow as it were of the corresponding group of the population of Ostia and of the great city of Rome itself, attracted to the settlement of Portus by the economic opportunities which this new city presented. Of this group of new settlers the Portus' necropolis makes us acquainted not with the leaders—the municipal aristocracy—but with the middle and small bourgeoisie of the city, its economic and social backbone; business men of various occupations, merchants of various standing, owners of industrial concerns, artisans, representatives of liberal professions (doctors, priests of oriental cults), minor officials, soldiers and non-commissioned officers. The majority of these were not free-born persons of Italian stock but slaves of higher standing or freedmen or their descendants, in large part of oriental origin.

This group appears to us as highly civilized and fairly prosperous. The members of it buried their dead in house-like tombs of large size, built of cheap but solid material, decorated with paintings, mosaics, statues. There is nothing surprising in the picture for a student of the social and economic life of the Roman Empire, but it is the first time that we have in our hands for the second century A. D. not scattered monuments of uncertain date but a solid body of material exactly dated, comparable on a smaller scale with the evidence for the first century presented by Pompeii and Herculaneum.

2) The tombs of the Isola Sacra yield little direct information on the religious ideas and the general mentality of the small bourgeoisie of the Portus. The funeral inscriptions are short and state as a rule only the name of the buried person with the addition of the

usual formulae, and the paintings in the tombs are for the most part purely decorative, the few figural compositions being commonplace. Nevertheless the necropolis does supply us with a wealth of information on the popular art of the time, as regards architecture, wall painting, floor mosaics, and sculpture. All these subjects have been adequately treated in the book under review. It will be sufficient to point out a few salient facts.

a) Aside from Pompeii and Herculaneum, our information on the evolution of *decorative wall painting* in Italy and in the West is hopelessly poor. Now for the first time we are able to add to the mostly fragmentary wall decorations of Ostian houses, and to those of a few Roman and Ostian tombs, a small but illuminating group of exactly dated wall decorations. These wall decorations are of course tomb and not house decorations. The tombs of the Isola Sacra are, however, houses in miniature, and no new system of wall decoration was invented for them. The prevailing system of wall decoration was certainly adopted by the professional painters of the Portus.

b) The same must be said of the mosaics. The floors of almost all the respectable tombs were covered with them, although most of them were ruined by later burials in the mausoleums of the second century. The most interesting feature of these floor-mosaics is the practice—inherited from the Hellenistic past—of inserting into a mosaic laid on the spot by more or less skilful mosaicists finer central panels made in special shops and bought separately, the so-called *emblemata*. Several of them were found in the ruins of the necropolis, none *in situ*. They are interesting and sometimes elegant products of mosaicists of the second century A. D. (pp. 178 ff.).

In speaking of the mosaics I may mention one of them of a certain interest, the mosaic of tomb 43 (pp. 169 f. and fig. 83). To a subject common in the harbor cities of Ostia and Portus—the Pharos with two ships entering the harbor—is added the inscription: *ὅδε παντο[ί]α λυτον*: "here is the end of your sorrows." What is meant is of course the tomb. The Pharos is the end of a long and sorrowful voyage through life, a typical concept for sailors and merchants for whom the Ostian Pharos was the symbol of the end of their long and dangerous voyage and of the rest which it promised to the tired traveler.

c) Surprising is the number and quality of the funeral sculptures found in the necropolis. I cannot dwell on this subject at length but I may draw the attention of the reader to such striking products of Roman portrait sculpture as the famous sarcophagus of an archigallus—a masterpiece of pathetic portrait sculpture (pp. 205 ff. and figs. 108-111) and a valuable source of information on the cult of the Magna Mater and Attis; the portrait statue of Iulia Procula, represented as Hygieia (figs. 221 and 222); that of Volcacius Myropous, a typical representative of the nervous, effeminate intelligentsia of the second century, a counterpart among the bourgeoisie to the intellectual aristocracy of the time of the Antonines (figs. 123 and 124), and the fine, still-Hellenistic group of a boy on horseback with a sturdy peasant behind him (figs. 135 and 136). The most striking products of sculpture found in the Isola Sacra are, how-

ever, the small bas-reliefs in terracotta inserted into the front walls of the tombs alongside the funeral inscription and supplementing it (pp. 247 ff.). It is a pity that only a few of them were found. They are intended to show the deceased as he was during his lifetime, engaged in his customary occupation: a midwife assisting a woman in travail; a surgeon treating his patient; a smith in his well-furnished shop, rich owner of an industrial concern (the tomb where these bas-reliefs were found *in situ* was one of the richest in the necropolis); an "arrotino"; a grain importer and merchant; an ambulant wine or water seller; a seller *en gros* of water [on one of his bas-reliefs the inscription *Lucifer aquatari(us)*]. Not that this class of funerary bas-reliefs is unknown. It is one of the most characteristic classes of the sculptural art of the Roman Empire. But the Portus group represents a new version of these sculptures and can be truly called a product of popular art strikingly reflecting the mentality of the small bourgeoisie of that period.

We must be thankful to Professor Calza for having so promptly and adequately made accessible to the students of the Roman Empire the rich material discovered by him in the Isola Sacra.

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COLEMAN HAMILTON BENEDICT. *A History of Narbo*. Princeton, 1941. Pp. vi + 93. (Diss.)

Part of this dissertation was published as an article, "The Romans in Southern Gaul," in *A. J. P.*, LXIII (1942), pp. 38-50. That article should be read in connection with this volume. The work has the usual chief divisions—founding, history, political organization, analysis of population, and economic life. The evidence is most satisfactory for political organization and population, and the treatment of those points is especially competent. In general this is a sound piece of work.

I should like to discuss the founding of Narbo somewhat at length. The article in *A. J. P.* discusses carefully the campaigns in Gaul of the decade before the founding, then abruptly announces that the colony was founded for commercial reasons. This view, which we have heard before, is announced again in the book with an enthusiasm that amounts almost to abandon.

On p. 3 we are told that after the settlement of 121 business men from Italy flocked to Gaul in large numbers. Obviously we have no evidence of this but only a reasonable assumption that some business men had been in Gaul before and that the prospect after 121 of more settled conditions attracted some of the more conservative to go there. On the same page we are told that "the business class in Rome clamored loudly for the establishment of a colony in the newly subjugated territory which should dominate the trade not only of Gaul but of Spain as well." As a matter of fact we do not know that this was the case. There is only an inference that the business men favored the establishment of the colony because it would bring them some

advantage and that inference is generally thought to be strengthened by the fact that the Senate opposed the establishment of the colony. This confident and vivid assertion is more suited to the style of the orator than to the style of the historian.

We should be more cautious in assuming that at this period the Senate seized every opportunity that it could to do harm to the financial interests of the *equites*. This assumption rests upon the senatorial opposition to the establishment of Colonia Junonia and Narbo and upon the fact that the *equites* were made conscious of themselves as a political power by Gaius Gracchus. We can hardly doubt that the Senate wished to lessen or remove the political power of the knights. There is no proof, however, that it would descend to spoiling some minor field of enterprise for the knights so as to take away a small part of their profits.

The conflicts between Senate and knights are more interesting than their coöperation, but a study of their relation in *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* will serve as a reminder that there had been coöperation for a long time and that it continued long after the Gracchan period. A great deal of state business was carried on by the knights, and there is no reason to suppose that the Senate had any idea of trying to drive them gradually out of that field. This would be the extreme to which senatorial opposition could go. But there is also no reason to suppose that the establishment or non-establishment of Junonia and Narbo was of such importance to the knights that it would be a significant blow to them if neither colony were founded.

Business men, whether as corporations, single knights, or less important individuals, must have been somewhat concerned with Africa Proconsularis and Gallia Narbonensis before the colonies were proposed. We know that they did not confine their operations to regions securely held by Rome. The colonies, therefore, would not create opportunities for them where none existed before, but only improve their opportunities. Failure to establish the colonies surely would not mean their complete withdrawal from the regions involved. The blow that the Senate could inflict on the knights by preventing the establishment of the colonies, when set against the total of equestrian operations, could hardly have been worth bothering about. It would be prudent to consider other motives which may have animated the Senate's opposition. The motives which I have in mind are only those which others have already conjectured, such as a conservative repugnance to the creation of citizen colonies outside Italy or to the distribution in fee of lands which had been paying rent to the treasury. The Senate might also have wanted to allow its own members to enjoy the privilege of renting the public land in Africa, since many senators must have suffered by the Gracchan program of cutting down large holdings in Italy.

It is also worth while to consider the motives of those who favored the founding of the colonies. We generally assume that the colonies were to be either military or commercial. Junonia surely was not intended as a military colony to oversee the province. The large allotments (200 jugera) were not characteristic of such colonies, and the Senate evidently relied largely on the Numidian kings for

military protection. For military purposes a number of smaller colonies would presumably have been used. It seems more reasonable to suppose that the purpose of the colony was to produce grain for the market at Rome, whether we consider that grain as a dole or as a means of stabilizing the supply. It would also relieve slightly the shortage of land in Italy, since the colonists were presumably stable farmers who had holdings in Italy. We do not often think of the conditions of their leaving, but it is hardly likely that they kept their Italian holdings. We might even conjecture that the six thousand of them would leave land enough in Italy for twelve thousand holdings of fifteen jugera.

A colony designed to increase the production of grain could hardly be called a commercial colony, even though it would obviously yield some profit to the business men who handled the produce. Indeed, the term commercial colony is not exact enough for serious historical writing, for alone it cannot express exactly the commercial opportunities implied in the foundation of such a colony. We have no reason to suppose, in the first place, that the founders of Junonia had made any official arrangement for the presence and activity of business men, nor that in the second place they had any thought of restricting that activity to Romans and Italians. The bare expression "commercial colony" will therefore carry certain false implications if applied to Junonia and will fail to represent adequately the relation of the founding of Junonia to the interests of the business men, as well as obscuring the purpose of the founders.

Benedict believes that Narbo was intended as a military colony to make trade safe. We do not find other examples of business men striving for such protection, in the first place. In the second place, the region should have seemed safe enough after the military operations which he discusses in his article, and it is hard to believe that business men would have thought a military colony necessary. If we knew more about the number of colonists and the size of their allotments, we might find that the good grain land behind Narbo was parceled out in good-sized allotments as was planned at Junonia. The support of Gracchan sympathizers in the Senate and the opposition of the Senate would thereby be plausibly explained.

These studies of cities should always sift the evidence for life in the territory outside the city center. Sometimes we can discover whether the great men of the city were merchants or landowners with outlying villas. Large territories sometimes have minor centers here and there. Such exact studies, added to studies of the pagi and unorganized open country, could help us to form a more accurate idea of the relation between city and country than we now have. It is easy to overemphasize the deadly dullness of country life as compared with city life, as Carcopino did in the introduction to his recent book on Roman daily life. It is also easy to overrate the superficial smartness of unintelligent city dwellers when it is contrasted with the loutish bearing of unintelligent countrymen. But the differences between rich and poor, intelligent and stupid, properly privileged and underprivileged, both in the city and the country, should be kept in mind. There should also be some consideration of whether the most active talents were being drained from country to city,

which did not always happen, and whether in some places the urban center should really be opposed as city to the country around it, since it was merely a center for a population which really lived (and well) in the country.

We should also be careful in using the words "Romanize" and "Romanization." I doubt whether Benedict's use of the word at the top of p. 68 is the most desirable use, since it implies only that a large number of Romans was active in the province and implies nothing about their impact or the impact of Rome in general on the province.

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FRIEDRICH VON DUHN. *Italische Graeberkunde*. Zweiter Teil. Nach dem Tode Friedrich von Duhns abgeschlossen, umgearbeitet und ergaenzet von FRANZ MESSERSCHMIDT. Heidelberg, Carl Winter's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1939. Pp. xv + 383; 6 figs.; 40 plates; maps. RM. 31.

Every scholar who has used von Duhn's *Graeberkunde* has regretted that the author's death left it incomplete. It is, therefore, most gratifying that this defect has now been remedied by the publication of the second volume which deals with the three peoples along the Adriatic, Veneti, Picenes, and Iapyges. Von Duhn had left an almost finished manuscript which was up to date to the year 1929. The new author, Messerschmidt, has added recent discoveries and new literature, complete to March 1939 (Nachtraege). Von Duhn's had been an amazing undertaking; it needed admirable industry and lifelong familiarity with ever-progressing studies to collect this vast material scattered in many museums and in many publications often inaccessible to the scholar outside Italy. Only a specialist could bring this work up to date and Messerschmidt has the competence to do it. A visit to Italy enabled him to deal with the material at first hand. He improved upon the readability of the book by putting the references into footnotes instead of the text, as von Duhn had done; further additions are several maps indicating the proveniences and forty plates with illustrations. Illustrations are the crux of von Duhn's first volume; I do not want to minimize its value, but mere descriptions are no substitute for illustrations. On the other hand, nothing short of a "corpus" in the manner of Montelius' publications would suffice. It is evident that the publishing of such a corpus was an impossible task for Messerschmidt; it must be done by the Italian archaeologists themselves as a part of the international corpus which is in progress. Messerschmidt even had to abstain from including in his modest collection valuable but unpublished material, because excavators and directors of museums preserved it for themselves. But Messerschmidt found a different way to increase the value of the *Graeberkunde*, by adding to the descriptive catalogue of the finds of each region general chapters in which problems are discussed according to the latest data. Needless to say, he had to

change many assumptions originally put forward by von Duhn which have been refuted by new studies. These new chapters enabled him at the same time to fill another gap in the *Graeberkunde*, namely to include finds from settlements which do not occur in tombs and he thus succeeds in giving a fully rounded picture of the cultures.

Italian prehistory is at present in a period of reconstruction. Theories held for a long time and accepted by the handbooks, as for example that about the Terramare, have been given up (cf. MacIver, *Antiquity*, XIII [1939], pp. 320 ff.); new theories have been propounded, and everything seems to be in a state of flux, very disconcerting for the non-specialist. The tendency, especially among Italian archaeologists, among whom Patroni might be cited as representative, has been lately not to deny but to minimize immigrations and foreign influences and to emphasize the indigenous development; furthermore to stress the importance of southern and central Italy in contrast to the valley of the Po which formerly was believed to be of preponderant importance. Messerschmidt takes side in all these problems, among them that of the Terramare. His general attitude is to do justice to the indigenous development but to make immigrations and foreign influences responsible for a number of new features. Fortunately, we may say, the problems of the Adriatic shore of Italy and of the first millennium to which the bulk of the material belongs are less controversial than those of other regions and periods: connections with the other side of the Adriatic are universally conceded, their strength and relevance only being problematical.

The wealth of material and of problems makes it impossible to give here a detailed account of the contents of the book. It must suffice to mention a few items in order to give the reader a more intimate knowledge of Messerschmidt's methods and results. In the Introduction he deals with the "Lausitz" culture, the bearers of which are commonly identified with the Illyrians. This ethnic group has lately been studied by archaeologists and philologists, and, although not all the conclusions may turn out ultimately to be correct, its importance for the beginning of the Iron age in Europe is certain. This culture spread from its center in Eastern Germany to the Southeast, South, and West; in Italy the Villanovan civilization was ushered in by immigrants belonging to this group; it is interesting to notice that even the "nativist" Patroni admits this particular immigration. Messerschmidt contributes convincing proof by illustrating almost identical vases from Este, Apulia, Bohemia, Silesia, and Rumania. He assumes that this immigration of Indo-europeans was preceded by an earlier one affecting also the pile-dwellers and terramaricoli and distinguishes three successive elements in northern Italy as far as Liguria: a non-Indo-european substratum, a first Indo-european immigration, and finally a second, namely the Illyrian. The second element is the most controversial and will be attacked by a number of scholars. The reviewer is likewise inclined to emphasize the indigenous continuity, underrated, for instance, by Whatmough. He thinks, on the other hand, that the immigration of the Greeks into the Aegean in the beginning of the second millennium makes a parallel immigration into Italy likely (cf. Battaglia, *Boll. Ass. Stud. Med.*, V [1934], pp. 89 ff.; Matz, *Neue Jahrbuech. f.*

Antike, 1938, pp. 385 ff.). Messerschmidt's discovery of northern battle-axes and vases in Italian museums (*Arch. Anz.*, 1938, pp. 637 f.) is a valuable contribution in this context. His method of dealing with details might be illustrated by his following studies: the "situla" originated not in Crete, but probably in Locri, was transmitted to the Veneti by the Etruscans and exported as far as Rumania; the "cinturoni," only used by women, were produced in Este and exported into Etruria and Latium; another atetine creation, the ciste with horizontal ribs, were exported even to Sicily. It must be admitted that superficial conclusions occur occasionally, for instance about the sculptures from Nesactium: the type of meander on them is too common to be dated by a Greek example of 530 B. C. In Picenum five ethnic layers are distinguishable according to Messerschmidt: Balkanians bringing "Bandkeramik"; Sicilians from the South as far as Rivoli; a people with crude pottery coming from a still indefinable region in the North during the Bronze age; the cremating people of Pianello; and finally Liburno-Illyrians crossing the Adriatic in the Iron age and settling in the southern part. The famous stelae from Novilara are discussed; they reflect the native tradition which differs very much from that of the Indo-european Italics; the figure motives, on the other hand, are mostly Greek, as von Salis has shown; their date is late, reaching down into the fifth or even fourth century, an undecorated example which preceded the decorated ones being datable to about 700. The third part deals with the Iapygians. Messerschmidt uses extensively the linguistic studies of Krahe and assumes that Illyrians crossing the Adriatic somewhat after 1000 superimposed themselves upon native descendants of the neolithic population; these immigrants are naturally more numerous in the northern parts; the "Messapian" inscriptions prove the existence of another linguistic element, namely "mediterranean" Cretans who became amalgamated with the Illyrian group. The circular tumuli with flexed burial are more likely to be connected with Istrian burials than with those on Leukas. Important is the observation that an Illyrian population attested by pottery found in the Borgo preceded the Spartan colonization of Tarentum. His conclusion, on the other hand, that the custom of burying the dead inside the town must be an Illyrian survival is not sound, because the Spartans likewise had this custom, unique in Greece (cf. I. von Mueller, *Griech. Privataltertümer*², p. 218).

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CHANDLER SHAW. *Etruscan Perugia*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1939. Pp. xii + 102; 16 plates. \$2.75. (*The Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Archaeology*, No. 28.)

Only for twenty years has Etruscan art been considered an individual entity, with its own characteristics and its own value, and no longer a bad imitation or a provincial interpretation of Greek art. No wonder, therefore, that a clear and satisfactory sketch of the

various Etruscan artistic schools, of their specific creations and their different tendencies, has not yet been traced. Corresponding to the real political independence of the cities in the Etruscan Confederation, only loosely bound together, there is a striking variety in their artistic productions, in their tastes and attitudes, in their predilection for special classes of monuments, and in how much they derived from different foreign influences. Different artistic productions always bear, notwithstanding, the imprint of the ethnical qualities that distinguish Etruscan art from all the other arts of antiquity. The local peculiarities of the various Etruscan artistic factories are complicated still more by the relations between the Etruscan racial stock and the civilization previously dominant in the country, by the geographical positions of the Etruscan towns—either on the Apennine hills in the interior part of the country near the confines of the Italic peoples, such as the Umbrians and the Picenes, or on the Tuscan shores open to the landing of invaders and to contact with the Oriental and Hellenic civilizations—and consequently by the different degrees of conservatism dominant in the various regions of central Italy. Moreover, some of the Etruscan towns seem to start their history with the very beginning of the Etruscan culture, while others owe their foundation to a later expansion of the Etruscan power or even begin only toward the decline of Etruscan history.

Consequently the monographs which try to collect our scattered information about each of the many Etruscan towns are always very welcome: monographs to which scholars have addressed their efforts only in the last few years, and two excellent specimens of which have appeared quite recently: the study on Luni by Luisa Banti and that on Tarquinia by Pallottino. Of such works some are simple compilations, summing up all our knowledge about the literary tradition and the archaeological discoveries in the territory of an Etruscan center; others try also to solve the various problems regarding the Etruscan town with which they deal. Shaw's book has no such pretension; it is a clear exposition, in a simple and pleasant form, of all the aspects of the life and art of Etruscan Perugia, a book which can be read without difficulty and with profit by all students and cultivated people. In consequence it necessarily reflects the especially unfavorable condition of our knowledge about that charming town of modern Umbria: the extreme scarcity of historical records, the lack of systematic excavation in the Perugian territory, the absence of thorough studies of the artistic categories which can be attributed with more or less certainty to the Perugian factories.

Shaw diligently provides us with all the bibliographical material on the discoveries and the studies regarding Perugia and with a description of the most important objects found in the territory. It is unfortunate that, when using his sources, he does not make a stronger discrimination between reliable studies, such as the two sound, recent articles by Miss Banti, and others of much less importance, some of which are not worth mentioning and upon which a reconstruction of Perugian history cannot be built: thus we cannot derive a conception of the religious beliefs in Perugia from the fantastic interpretations by scholars of the beginning of the 19th century, when the "symbolistic" mania was at its height. A great

part of what the author describes as symbols and beliefs of the Beyond is only obvious ornamental motifs on urns and similar objects which appear in the same way on all kindred Etruscan products everywhere. In the description of Perugian products, furthermore, we must be very careful in attributing to Perugia's factories the many objects which were found in its territory: so, for instance, the bronze mirrors, of which several fine specimens were found there, could very easily have been imported (Miss Banti hints at the *possibility* of a local factory but warns against easy deductions regarding objects of such a kind); the same can be said for the bronze statuettes, for the jewelry, and so on. The sarcophagus from Sperandio (p. 15) and the round cippus (p. 54) are by all evidence of Chiusan origin, and we cannot therefore derive from their representations any image of Perugian life and cults.

In general, in spite of the popular character of the book, a clearer distinction between what is essentially Perugian and what is common to the whole of Etruria would have been desirable. Customs and creeds, dress, ornaments, rites that are depicted in this book belong in great part to the usual patrimony of Etruria. Their description is often unnecessary, because to each of these aspects of Etruscan life special studies have been dedicated and each one presents problems which cannot be dealt with here; sometimes the account is consequently partial or incorrect: for instance fashions in garments, hair-dressing, and shaving changed in the different ages of Etruscan history, and in their study much must be discounted which is only an imitation of the foreign models of the Etruscan monuments. On the other hand, although the author does not intend to solve particular problems, it would have been praiseworthy if he had tried better to determine the specific qualities of the artistic productions which can be considered Perugian. In the first place he could examine with more attention the cinerary urns, the stylistic characteristics of which are plainly discernible from those of the kindred factories of Chiusi and Volterra and from which a chronological evolution in style and subjects could probably be traced (the distinction between the urns of Perugia and those of Chiusi drawn from the position of the inscription or the shape of the letter T is entirely fictitious). The author accepts at once Galli's hypothesis of a local pottery at Perugia to which the vases of Monteluca would belong (p. 75), but he does not take into consideration the objections of such an expert on Etruscan vases as Albizzati. In the same way he accepts without discrimination (p. 69) all the theories attributing local factories to the various Etruscan provinces, although these factories have been much discussed and disputed. Another very important argument to be studied is the place of creation of the magnificent laminated bronzes and silvers of the 6th century B. C. found in the Perugian territory, although the obviously slight importance of the Etruscan settlement in Perugia before the middle of the 5th century makes a local origin of such monuments very improbable.

Above all, the author does not seem to have made up his mind as to the intrinsic qualities of Etruscan art as a whole. While discussing the attribution of the bronzes from San Mariano (p. 11) he seems to consider Etruscan art nothing but an unskilful imitation of Greek

art; he seems inclined to accept the Greek creation of the Loeb tripods (p. 15); the admirable sculptures of the Volumni Tomb, in his opinion, have no longer anything peculiarly Etruscan (p. 63, p. 93) because Perugia has become by now "part of a world civilization," and because the sculptures reflect a strong Hellenistic influence. But, indeed, under the strongest spur of Greek art Etruscan art developed its own individual characteristics excellently: the influence of the school of Pergamum is in fact the last stream of Greek influence which helped Etruscan art to bring to the surface and stress its own artistic tendencies; it would be difficult to find more striking evidence of the Etruscan artistic qualities and of the late Etruscan style than the beautiful Lasae of the Volumni Tomb. It would have been interesting, on the other hand, to make clear how much the particular situation of Perugia—its peaceful relation with Rome, far from the new fields of struggle in Italy—may have contributed to this very late blossoming of art, much more advanced than anything Perugia had created before.

In spite of such deficiencies, and of some other slips on which it is useless to insist, the attempt to draw a sketch of such a dark center of Etruscan life and art is highly commendable. The author intends (p. ix) to publish some Appendices also, with a chronological table of the tombs, an index of the objects discovered, a list of the inscriptions, etc. It is to be hoped that the deeper study which he will devote to the different products of the Perugian territory in preparing such Appendices will enable him to face some of the most important problems regarding the history and the art of Perugia, so that the basis will be laid for a more thorough monograph in the future, when perhaps more accurate archaeological explorations will also have filled some of the large gaps in our knowledge concerning this important ancient town.

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CAMPBELL BONNER (ed.). *The Homily on the Passion by Melito Bishop of Sardis and Some Fragments of the Apocryphal Ezekiel*. London, Christophers; Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. x + 202 + 2 plates. \$5.00. (*Studies and Documents*, edited by Kirsopp and Silva Lake, XII.)

By his latest contribution to this notable series Professor Bonner has put in his debt students of religious literature of antiquity, for his excellent edition of the long-lost Greek *Sermon on the Passion* by St. Melito, Bishop of Sardis (ob. ca. 190), helps to fill the noticeable void in the homiletical department of the writings of those Ante-Nicene Fathers whose works have survived. For generations it has been believed that of Christian homilies the oldest oration extant in an independent existence is the so-called *Second Epistle of St. Clement of Rome to the Corinthians*, which appears to be neither an epistle nor by Clement, but seems to be a Greek sermon (of which both its author and its date are not known) and which may have

been composed, according to general opinion, sometime between 125 and 175. If so, the discourse of Melito comes close in time to this earliest example of patristic preaching and may very well contest the honor of being the second oldest orthodox oration surviving in Greek and in an almost complete form with the *Discourse on the Holy Theophany*, which is the sole specimen in Greek (save for several fragments and except for his exegetical homilies) of the sermons of St. Hippolytus of Rome (*ob. ca.* 235), Melito's younger contemporary, since the twenty homilies in Greek ascribed to the Roman Clement, who in these presents the preaching of St. Peter, are now held not only to be in inspiration Arian in their present form but also to be of oriental origin sometime in the earlier part of the third century.

The text of this edition, equipped with notes (orthographical, lexicographical, grammatical, rhetorical, historical, theological) and translation, is based principally on a papyrus-codex produced in the fourth century by a scribe, who corrected his own copy in a few places and then only in faulty letters or syllables. For the construction of the text is utilized also the evidence of other documents containing sections of the sermon, viz., a Greek fragment of seven sections, a Coptic fragment of five sections, a Syriac version of five sections, a Syriac version of excerpts from thirty-five sections. (Duplication among these witnesses occurs only in the Syriac versions.) Beside this testimony to the text an author of the seventh century, St. Anastasius of Sinai, abridges inaccurately a sentence of the sermon, which occupies eight and one-quarter leaves or sixteen and one-half pages of the papyrus, extends (by count) to 641 lines (thirty at least and perhaps thirty-five lines in addition being missing according to the editor's estimate), and has 104 sections determined by the editor for convenience in reference. While "ordinary sources of injury" have resulted in some loss of letters and words and lines (as is common in manuscripts of this character), yet "the work is complete" save for "the few lines that have been lost from the lower part of the leaf" at the end of the homily. By printing on opposite pages the Greek in "an exact and uncorrected transcript" and in a conventionally edited expansion, this edition presents the reader with the *data* of the document, of which "the more debatable passages are discussed in the notes" at the bottom of the pages. The emendatory expansions are evidently for any editor a ticklish task, but from his long familiarity with this field of philology Bonner, employing commendable inhibition as well as conservative ingenuity, has brought to us what, on the whole, was written by Melito rather than what some scholars might suppose Melito should have written.

In the introductory pages (3-82) is assembled much information relating to technical features of the papyrus, to method of edition, to structure and style of the sermon, to special topics including the theological position of Melito revealed in the work, the author's use of the Bible, the influence of the homily on both contemporary and later writers. An *index verborum* completes the part of the volume devoted to Melito's discourse and is more than usually helpful, since words which appear to be of interest from theological

and grammatical considerations are noted with brief explanation of their usage.

The second portion of Bonner's book presents three annotated fragments of the apocryphal *Prophecy of Ezekiel*. These, as well as St. Melito's *Homily on the Passion* and the concluding chapters of the *Book of Enoch*, are found in the codex belonging partly to Mr. A. C. Beatty and in part to the University of Michigan. In a short introduction (pp. 183-185) the editor discusses the still unsolved difficulties involved in his ascription of these fragments to the pseudo-Ezekiel (of which not much is known), especially since "none of the fragments hitherto recognized as belonging to the pseudo-Ezekiel can be detected in the Beatty pieces." Bonner believes on good grounds, however, that these fragments "give the impression of a Jewish prophecy" and he finds that eight lines of the first fragment "are cited, with very slight variations, by Clement of Alexandria . . . as from Ezekiel." Because both Clement's citation and the first fragment "represent an Ezekiel very different not only from the text of the Septuagint but also from the Hebrew," Bonner, relying on the Alexandrian attribution, refers both Clement's quotation and the three fragments here edited to pseudo-Ezekiel; "for there is no reason to think that the writer of the fragments merely happened to quote the same words that Clement cites." To this part of the volume is appended also an index of words.

It cannot be doubted that Bonner has performed a genuine service in giving us in scholarly form this edition, which is commended to all investigators of early Christian literature.

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A. CORDIER. *Études sur le vocabulaire épique dans l' "Énéide."*
Paris, "Les Belles Lettres," 1939. Pp. xxxix + 354.

The aim of Professor Cordier's lengthy book is to establish the relationship of the *Aeneid* to the technique of epic language in general, to determine to what extent Virgil remained faithful to tradition, and to show what skilful and original use he made of the heritage left him by previous writers. The twenty-five pages of introductory material include a long bibliography of works both general and specific on the Latin language, especially that of the epic poets. An index verborum of twenty-five or thirty pages stands at the end. Through an extremely detailed study of the vocabulary and methods of Virgil's predecessors Cordier attempts to discover the literary state of epic language in Virgil's time and thus to arrive at the basis on which he worked.

The book is divided into three main sections, which treat respectively the archaism and the gloss (*tout nom qui est étranger à l'usage*)—including poetic, technical, rare, and foreign words—, both of which are essentially epic elements, and the compound, which he calls

semi-epic and which may be merely ornamental or truly expressive. The same general plan is followed in each major division, a plan which the author states will be clearer than any other, even if perhaps more monotonous. Cordier draws a great many of his illustrations and observations from Marouzeau's *Stylistique*. Statistics are used in profusion throughout, though as a means of illustrating the tendencies shown, rather than as an end in themselves. In each section Virgil's predecessors are discussed in chronological order with special attention given to their use of the elements appropriate to epic, after which Virgil's own policy is carefully delineated.

In the main, Virgil, according to the author, confined himself within the same limits of vocabulary as former writers, with, however, the modification of some tendencies and the extension of others. To bring epic within the reach of all classes, he limited his archaisms to those most closely allied with current speech, retaining a sufficient number to lend solemnity, nobility, or gravity to his poem. Poetic words were likewise chosen with good taste and moderation, so as to create the desired esthetic style and epic color without becoming cumbersome through repetition, as in Homer. His compounds, formed chiefly upon Latin models in preference to the Greek, achieved an effect of neither monotony nor artifice but rather a union of naturalness and variety. By thus eliminating excessive use of epic elements and normalizing his words to suit the requirements of the Latin system, he safeguarded the traditional features of the language and preserved the acquisitions of the past; by making innovations and taking account of new elements when such creations were in harmony with the established language, he enriched the expressive qualities of his vocabulary. Virgil's art consisted of a combination of the traditions of his predecessors with the newer tastes; his contribution was the reconciliation of the divergences of two different schools and the fixation of the epic manner.

Cordier's book seems to be a thorough, scholarly piece of work, which must have been a prodigious and infinite task in the making. It shows much sound reasoning and good judgment as well as an indefatigable desire to penetrate into small details and reach the very groundwork of his subject. His work is substantial and persistent, though by no means inspiring; his theories and conclusions are interesting, though nothing extraordinary has been brought to light.

The chief faults of the author are his attempt to be too thorough and his rambling, repetitious style. It seems unnecessary to incorporate into the body of his text copious lists of each and every archaism or gloss borrowed by Virgil from other epic writers or all the compounds found in other authors which were not used by Virgil. Abundant illustrations are always necessary and helpful, but an overabundance which amounts to exhaustion is a little wearying. Such material is valuable for reference, of course, but it might find better place in footnotes or appendixes. The book is an excellent working manual, and the illustrative material, though excessive, is usually convincing. Notwithstanding, one must often wonder how Cordier can decide satisfactorily upon the limits of distinction between the different types of glosses.

The book is loosely hung together and would gain much by compression to half its present length. The numerous introductions and conclusions to the whole book and separate chapters, not to mention introductions and conclusions to the introductions and conclusions themselves, involve a great deal of unnecessary repetition, which is ubiquitous, even within the individual sections.

Cordier's work would have been much more attractive if he had simply indicated to his readers the extent of his tremendous research and the number of examples which he could supply, instead of demonstrating every step of his procedure. His style, which seems almost that of the classroom, lacks subtlety and leaves little to the imagination. That which it would often be sufficient to suggest is told several times instead. The book is straightforward, logical, and consistent, but a trace of liveliness and variety would make it more readable.

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GEORGE VAN LANGENHOVE. *Linguistische Studiën, II: Essais de linguistique indo-européenne*. Antwerp, De Sikkel; The Hague, Martin Nijhoff, 1939. Pp. xvii + 151. (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de faculteit van de wijsbegeerte en letteren, 87^e aflevering.)

The first series of these *Studiën*, which appeared in 1936, contained five chapters on "Macht en taal," "La Linguistique et l'histoire des religions," "West-Germaansch = Gemeen-Germaansch," "Indo-Europeesch **tt* = Gemeen-Germaansch **ss*," and "Nederlandsch -*mst*, Duitsch -*nft* I"; the series here under consideration has four: "Sur quelques racines indo-européennes du type **æu*-" (pp. 1-47), "Le Nom de la 'nouvelle mariée' en indo-européen" (pp. 48-64), "Sur l'interprétation de quelques noms de personnages divins" (pp. 65-88), and "Notes pour une théorie de la racine" (pp. 89-151); and at least one more series has been planned by the author.

Of eleven homonymous bases **æu*-, van Langenhove has chosen the one meaning "flow" with its suffixes -*d*-, -*g*-, -*n*-, -*i*-, -*r*-, -*s*-, *l*, etc., carefully examining all certain or probable derivatives, and treating with prudent reserve all doubtful cases (cf. his summary, pp. 38-41). The study closes (pp. 46-47) with pertinent remarks on homonymous bases in Indo-European, the conclusion being that many such bases are, in reality, identical, and that the fundamental meaning of the identical bases of the **æu*-group here discussed is "vital or animating force" (that this *æ* is the *æ*₂ of Kurylowicz's scheme, rather than his *æ*₁, is not, the author admits, entirely certain; and this reviewer is not yet sure that the theory of *æ*₁*e* > *e*, *æ*₂*e* > *a*, *æ*₃*e* > *o* is fully established). If, in this connection, it be finally shown that all Indo-European bases apparently beginning with *r* or *u* were, in fact, the "second states" of **æ_xe_xre*- or **æ_xe_xue*-, may it not equally well have been the case that Indo-European had no bases with initial

l, i, m, or n? The author would, indeed, seem to suggest (p. 143) that many, if not all, bases with initial consonants in historic Indo-European originally began with a laryngal, Indo-European **brūtī-*, for example, coming ultimately from **bh₁bh₂h₃h₄r₅h₆u₇h₈t₉-i-*, a conclusion which at present seems rather hazardous.

The study on the Indo-European designation of the newly married woman is devoted essentially to the etymology and semantics of Teutonic **brūđī-* (represented, e. g., by Anglo-Saxon *brýd* "sponsa, nupta, uxor, mulier," Middle Dutch *bruden* "een vrouw beslapen," Gothic *brup* "daughter-in-law") < Indo-European **bhrū-tí-* < **bh₁h₂h₃h₄h₅h₆h₇h₈h₉u₁₀h₁₁t₁₂-i-*. This analysis is supported by that of Teutonic **frauian-* "lord, master" < **h₁p₂h₃h₄h₅h₆h₇h₈h₉h₁₀h₁₁h₁₂eu₁₃-i-on-*, where **h₂eu-* is the same base as that already discussed, so that **frauian-* must primarily have meant "he who brings vital force" and **brūđī-* "she who carries vital force" (the connection of this group with Sanskrit *bhrūṇām* "embryo," Middle High German *brüene*, *brüne* "belly, vulva," p. 60, seems much more likely than any other etymology thus far proposed). On the other hand, it is not so certain to this reviewer that **brūđī-* and **frauian-* referred originally to the chief actors of a *ἱερὸς γάμος* (pp. 60-64); this would appear to be a sufficient, not a necessary, interpretation.

The third study is concerned with the etymologies of certain Teutonic divine names: *Lóðurr* < Teutonic **lōþura-* < Indo-European **lā-tu-ro-* "hidden" (cf. Doric *Λατώ*, Latin *lateō*; pp. 67-70); *Høfnir* < Teutonic **hōñia-* Indo-European **kōñiio-* < **k₁h₂h₃h₄h₅h₆h₇h₈h₉h₁₀h₁₁h₁₂h₁₃h₁₄h₁₅h₁₆h₁₇h₁₈h₁₉h₂₀h₂₁h₂₂h₂₃h₂₄h₂₅h₂₆h₂₇h₂₈h₂₉h₃₀h₃₁h₃₂h₃₃h₃₄h₃₅h₃₆h₃₇h₃₈h₃₉h₄₀h₄₁h₄₂h₄₃h₄₄h₄₅h₄₆h₄₇h₄₈h₄₉h₅₀h₅₁h₅₂h₅₃h₅₄h₅₅h₅₆h₅₇h₅₈h₅₉h₆₀h₆₁h₆₂h₆₃h₆₄h₆₅h₆₆h₆₇h₆₈h₆₉h₇₀h₇₁h₇₂h₇₃h₇₄h₇₅h₇₆h₇₇h₇₈h₇₉h₈₀h₈₁h₈₂h₈₃h₈₄h₈₅h₈₆h₈₇h₈₈h₈₉h₉₀h₉₁h₉₂h₉₃h₉₄h₉₅h₉₆h₉₇h₉₈h₉₉h₁₀₀h₁₀₁h₁₀₂h₁₀₃h₁₀₄h₁₀₅h₁₀₆h₁₀₇h₁₀₈h₁₀₉h₁₁₀h₁₁₁h₁₁₂h₁₁₃h₁₁₄h₁₁₅h₁₁₆h₁₁₇h₁₁₈h₁₁₉h₁₂₀h₁₂₁h₁₂₂h₁₂₃h₁₂₄h₁₂₅h₁₂₆h₁₂₇h₁₂₈h₁₂₉h₁₃₀h₁₃₁h₁₃₂h₁₃₃h₁₃₄h₁₃₅h₁₃₆h₁₃₇h₁₃₈h₁₃₉h₁₄₀h₁₄₁h₁₄₂h₁₄₃h₁₄₄h₁₄₅h₁₄₆h₁₄₇h₁₄₈h₁₄₉h₁₅₀h₁₅₁h₁₅₂h₁₅₃h₁₅₄h₁₅₅h₁₅₆h₁₅₇h₁₅₈h₁₅₉h₁₆₀h₁₆₁h₁₆₂h₁₆₃h₁₆₄h₁₆₅h₁₆₆h₁₆₇h₁₆₈h₁₆₉h₁₇₀h₁₇₁h₁₇₂h₁₇₃h₁₇₄h₁₇₅h₁₇₆h₁₇₇h₁₇₈h₁₇₉h₁₈₀h₁₈₁h₁₈₂h₁₈₃h₁₈₄h₁₈₅h₁₈₆h₁₈₇h₁₈₈h₁₈₉h₁₉₀h₁₉₁h₁₉₂h₁₉₃h₁₉₄h₁₉₅h₁₉₆h₁₉₇h₁₉₈h₁₉₉h₂₀₀h₂₀₁h₂₀₂h₂₀₃h₂₀₄h₂₀₅h₂₀₆h₂₀₇h₂₀₈h₂₀₉h₂₁₀h₂₁₁h₂₁₂h₂₁₃h₂₁₄h₂₁₅h₂₁₆h₂₁₇h₂₁₈h₂₁₉h₂₂₀h₂₂₁h₂₂₂h₂₂₃h₂₂₄h₂₂₅h₂₂₆h₂₂₇h₂₂₈h₂₂₉h₂₃₀h₂₃₁h₂₃₂h₂₃₃h₂₃₄h₂₃₅h₂₃₆h₂₃₇h₂₃₈h₂₃₉h₂₄₀h₂₄₁h₂₄₂h₂₄₃h₂₄₄h₂₄₅h₂₄₆h₂₄₇h₂₄₈h₂₄₉h₂₅₀h₂₅₁h₂₅₂h₂₅₃h₂₅₄h₂₅₅h₂₅₆h₂₅₇h₂₅₈h₂₅₉h₂₆₀h₂₆₁h₂₆₂h₂₆₃h₂₆₄h₂₆₅h₂₆₆h₂₆₇h₂₆₈h₂₆₉h₂₇₀h₂₇₁h₂₇₂h₂₇₃h₂₇₄h₂₇₅h₂₇₆h₂₇₇h₂₇₈h₂₇₉h₂₈₀h₂₈₁h₂₈₂h₂₈₃h₂₈₄h₂₈₅h₂₈₆h₂₈₇h₂₈₈h₂₈₉h₂₉₀h₂₉₁h₂₉₂h₂₉₃h₂₉₄h₂₉₅h₂₉₆h₂₉₇h₂₉₈h₂₉₉h₃₀₀h₃₀₁h₃₀₂h₃₀₃h₃₀₄h₃₀₅h₃₀₆h₃₀₇h₃₀₈h₃₀₉h₃₁₀h₃₁₁h₃₁₂h₃₁₃h₃₁₄h₃₁₅h₃₁₆h₃₁₇h₃₁₈h₃₁₉h₃₂₀h₃₂₁h₃₂₂h₃₂₃h₃₂₄h₃₂₅h₃₂₆h₃₂₇h₃₂₈h₃₂₉h₃₃₀h₃₃₁h₃₃₂h₃₃₃h₃₃₄h₃₃₅h₃₃₆h₃₃₇h₃₃₈h₃₃₉h₃₄₀h₃₄₁h₃₄₂h₃₄₃h₃₄₄h₃₄₅h₃₄₆h₃₄₇h₃₄₈h₃₄₉h₃₅₀h₃₅₁h₃₅₂h₃₅₃h₃₅₄h₃₅₅h₃₅₆h₃₅₇h₃₅₈h₃₅₉h₃₆₀h₃₆₁h₃₆₂h₃₆₃h₃₆₄h₃₆₅h₃₆₆h₃₆₇h₃₆₈h₃₆₉h₃₇₀h₃₇₁h₃₇₂h₃₇₃h₃₇₄h₃₇₅h₃₇₆h₃₇₇h₃₇₈h₃₇₉h₃₈₀h₃₈₁h₃₈₂h₃₈₃h₃₈₄h₃₈₅h₃₈₆h₃₈₇h₃₈₈h₃₈₉h₃₉₀h₃₉₁h₃₉₂h₃₉₃h₃₉₄h₃₉₅h₃₉₆h₃₉₇h₃₉₈h₃₉₉h₄₀₀h₄₀₁h₄₀₂h₄₀₃h₄₀₄h₄₀₅h₄₀₆h₄₀₇h₄₀₈h₄₀₉h₄₁₀h₄₁₁h₄₁₂h₄₁₃h₄₁₄h₄₁₅h₄₁₆h₄₁₇h₄₁₈h₄₁₉h₄₂₀h₄₂₁h₄₂₂h₄₂₃h₄₂₄h₄₂₅h₄₂₆h₄₂₇h₄₂₈h₄₂₉h₄₃₀h₄₃₁h₄₃₂h₄₃₃h₄₃₄h₄₃₅h₄₃₆h₄₃₇h₄₃₈h₄₃₉h₄₄₀h₄₄₁h₄₄₂h₄₄₃h₄₄₄h₄₄₅h₄₄₆h₄₄₇h₄₄₈h₄₄₉h₄₅₀h₄₅₁h₄₅₂h₄₅₃h₄₅₄h₄₅₅h₄₅₆h₄₅₇h₄₅₈h₄₅₉h₄₆₀h₄₆₁h₄₆₂h₄₆₃h₄₆₄h₄₆₅h₄₆₆h₄₆₇h₄₆₈h₄₆₉h₄₇₀h₄₇₁h₄₇₂h₄₇₃h₄₇₄h₄₇₅h₄₇₆h₄₇₇h₄₇₈h₄₇₉h₄₈₀h₄₈₁h₄₈₂h₄₈₃h₄₈₄h₄₈₅h₄₈₆h₄₈₇h₄₈₈h₄₈₉h₄₉₀h₄₉₁h₄₉₂h₄₉₃h₄₉₄h₄₉₅h₄₉₆h₄₉₇h₄₉₈h₄₉₉h₅₀₀h₅₀₁h₅₀₂h₅₀₃h₅₀₄h₅₀₅h₅₀₆h₅₀₇h₅₀₈h₅₀₉h₅₁₀h₅₁₁h₅₁₂h₅₁₃h₅₁₄h₅₁₅h₅₁₆h₅₁₇h₅₁₈h₅₁₉h₅₂₀h₅₂₁h₅₂₂h₅₂₃h₅₂₄h₅₂₅h₅₂₆h₅₂₇h₅₂₈h₅₂₉h₅₃₀h₅₃₁h₅₃₂h₅₃₃h₅₃₄h₅₃₅h₅₃₆h₅₃₇h₅₃₈h₅₃₉h₅₄₀h₅₄₁h₅₄₂h₅₄₃h₅₄₄h₅₄₅h₅₄₆h₅₄₇h₅₄₈h₅₄₉h₅₅₀h₅₅₁h₅₅₂h₅₅₃h₅₅₄h₅₅₅h₅₅₆h₅₅₇h₅₅₈h₅₅₉h₅₆₀h₅₆₁h₅₆₂h₅₆₃h₅₆₄h₅₆₅h₅₆₆h₅₆₇h₅₆₈h₅₆₉h₅₇₀h₅₇₁h₅₇₂h₅₇₃h₅₇₄h₅₇₅h₅₇₆h₅₇₇h₅₇₈h₅₇₉h₅₈₀h₅₈₁h₅₈₂h₅₈₃h₅₈₄h₅₈₅h₅₈₆h₅₈₇h₅₈₈h₅₈₉h₅₉₀h₅₉₁h₅₉₂h₅₉₃h₅₉₄h₅₉₅h₅₉₆h₅₉₇h₅₉₈h₅₉₉h₆₀₀h₆₀₁h₆₀₂h₆₀₃h₆₀₄h₆₀₅h₆₀₆h₆₀₇h₆₀₈h₆₀₉h₆₁₀h₆₁₁h₆₁₂h₆₁₃h₆₁₄h₆₁₅h₆₁₆h₆₁₇h₆₁₈h₆₁₉h₆₂₀h₆₂₁h₆₂₂h₆₂₃h₆₂₄h₆₂₅h₆₂₆h₆₂₇h₆₂₈h₆₂₉h₆₃₀h₆₃₁h₆₃₂h₆₃₃h₆₃₄h₆₃₅h₆₃₆h₆₃₇h₆₃₈h₆₃₉h₆₄₀h₆₄₁h₆₄₂h₆₄₃h₆₄₄h₆₄₅h₆₄₆h₆₄₇h₆₄₈h₆₄₉h₆₅₀h₆₅₁h₆₅₂h₆₅₃h₆₅₄h₆₅₅h₆₅₆h₆₅₇h₆₅₈h₆₅₉h₆₆₀h₆₆₁h₆₆₂h₆₆₃h₆₆₄h₆₆₅h₆₆₆h₆₆₇h₆₆₈h₆₆₉h₆₇₀h₆₇₁h₆₇₂h₆₇₃h₆₇₄h₆₇₅h₆₇₆h₆₇₇h₆₇₈h₆₇₉h₆₈₀h₆₈₁h₆₈₂h₆₈₃h₆₈₄h₆₈₅h₆₈₆h₆₈₇h₆₈₈h₆₈₉h₆₉₀h₆₉₁h₆₉₂h₆₉₃h₆₉₄h₆₉₅h₆₉₆h₆₉₇h₆₉₈h₆₉₉h₇₀₀h₇₀₁h₇₀₂h₇₀₃h₇₀₄h₇₀₅h₇₀₆h₇₀₇h₇₀₈h₇₀₉h₇₁₀h₇₁₁h₇₁₂h₇₁₃h₇₁₄h₇₁₅h₇₁₆h₇₁₇h₇₁₈h₇₁₉h₇₂₀h₇₂₁h₇₂₂h₇₂₃h₇₂₄h₇₂₅h₇₂₆h₇₂₇h₇₂₈h₇₂₉h₇₃₀h₇₃₁h₇₃₂h₇₃₃h₇₃₄h₇₃₅h₇₃₆h₇₃₇h₇₃₈h₇₃₉h₇₄₀h₇₄₁h₇₄₂h₇₄₃h₇₄₄h₇₄₅h₇₄₆h₇₄₇h₇₄₈h₇₄₉h₇₅₀h₇₅₁h₇₅₂h₇₅₃h₇₅₄h₇₅₅h₇₅₆h₇₅₇h₇₅₈h₇₅₉h₇₆₀h₇₆₁h₇₆₂h₇₆₃h₇₆₄h₇₆₅h₇₆₆h₇₆₇h₇₆₈h₇₆₉h₇₇₀h₇₇₁h₇₇₂h₇₇₃h₇₇₄h₇₇₅h₇₇₆h₇₇₇h₇₇₈h₇₇₉h₇₈₀h₇₈₁h₇₈₂h₇₈₃h₇₈₄h₇₈₅h₇₈₆h₇₈₇h₇₈₈h₇₈₉h₇₉₀h₇₉₁h₇₉₂h₇₉₃h₇₉₄h₇₉₅h₇₉₆h₇₉₇h₇₉₈h₇₉₉h₈₀₀h₈₀₁h₈₀₂h₈₀₃h₈₀₄h₈₀₅h₈₀₆h₈₀₇h₈₀₈h₈₀₉h₈₁₀h₈₁₁h₈₁₂h₈₁₃h₈₁₄h₈₁₅h₈₁₆h₈₁₇h₈₁₈h₈₁₉h₈₂₀h₈₂₁h₈₂₂h₈₂₃h₈₂₄h₈₂₅h₈₂₆h₈₂₇h₈₂₈h₈₂₉h₈₃₀h₈₃₁h₈₃₂h₈₃₃h₈₃₄h₈₃₅h₈₃₆h₈₃₇h₈₃₈h₈₃₉h₈₄₀h₈₄₁h₈₄₂h₈₄₃h₈₄₄h₈₄₅h₈₄₆h₈₄₇h₈₄₈h₈₄₉h₈₅₀h₈₅₁h₈₅₂h₈₅₃h₈₅₄h₈₅₅h₈₅₆h₈₅₇h₈₅₈h₈₅₉h₈₆₀h₈₆₁h₈₆₂h₈₆₃h₈₆₄h₈₆₅h₈₆₆h₈₆₇h₈₆₈h₈₆₉h₈₇₀h₈₇₁h₈₇₂h₈₇₃h₈₇₄h₈₇₅h₈₇₆h₈₇₇h₈₇₈h₈₇₉h₈₈₀h₈₈₁h₈₈₂h₈₈₃h₈₈₄h₈₈₅h₈₈₆h₈₈₇h₈₈₈h₈₈₉h₈₉₀h₈₉₁h₈₉₂h₈₉₃h₈₉₄h₈₉₅h₈₉₆h₈₉₇h₈₉₈h₈₉₉h₉₀₀h₉₀₁h₉₀₂h₉₀₃h₉₀₄h₉₀₅h₉₀₆h₉₀₇h₉₀₈h₉₀₉h₉₁₀h₉₁₁h₉₁₂h₉₁₃h₉₁₄h₉₁₅h₉₁₆h₉₁₇h₉₁₈h₉₁₉h₉₂₀h₉₂₁h₉₂₂h₉₂₃h₉₂₄h₉₂₅h₉₂₆h₉₂₇h₉₂₈h₉₂₉h₉₃₀h₉₃₁h₉₃₂h₉₃₃h₉₃₄h₉₃₅h₉₃₆h₉₃₇h₉₃₈h₉₃₉h₉₄₀h₉₄₁h₉₄₂h₉₄₃h₉₄₄h₉₄₅h₉₄₆h₉₄₇h₉₄₈h₉₄₉h₉₅₀h₉₅₁h₉₅₂h₉₅₃h₉₅₄h₉₅₅h₉₅₆h₉₅₇h₉₅₈h₉₅₉h₉₆₀h₉₆₁h₉₆₂h₉₆₃h₉₆₄h₉₆₅h₉₆₆h₉₆₇h₉₆₈h₉₆₉h₉₇₀h₉₇₁h₉₇₂h₉₇₃h₉₇₄h₉₇₅h₉₇₆h₉₇₇h₉₇₈h₉₇₉h₉₈₀h₉₈₁h₉₈₂h₉₈₃h₉₈₄h₉₈₅h₉₈₆h₉₈₇h₉₈₈h₉₈₉h₉₉₀h₉₉₁h₉₉₂h₉₉₃h₉₉₄h₉₉₅h₉₉₆h₉₉₇h₉₉₈h₉₉₉h₁₀₀₀h₁₀₀₁h₁₀₀₂h₁₀₀₃h₁₀₀₄h₁₀₀₅h₁₀₀₆h₁₀₀₇h₁₀₀₈h₁₀₀₉h₁₀₁₀h₁₀₁₁h₁₀₁₂h₁₀₁₃h₁₀₁₄h₁₀₁₅h₁₀₁₆h₁₀₁₇h₁₀₁₈h₁₀₁₉h₁₀₂₀h₁₀₂₁h₁₀₂₂h₁₀₂₃h₁₀₂₄h₁₀₂₅h₁₀₂₆h₁₀₂₇h₁₀₂₈h₁₀₂₉h₁₀₃₀h₁₀₃₁h₁₀₃₂h₁₀₃₃h₁₀₃₄h₁₀₃₅h₁₀₃₆h₁₀₃₇h₁₀₃₈h₁₀₃₉h₁₀₄₀h₁₀₄₁h₁₀₄₂h₁₀₄₃h₁₀₄₄h₁₀₄₅h₁₀₄₆h₁₀₄₇h₁₀₄₈h₁₀₄₉h₁₀₅₀h₁₀₅₁h₁₀₅₂h₁₀₅₃h₁₀₅₄h₁₀₅₅h₁₀₅₆h₁₀₅₇h₁₀₅₈h₁₀₅₉h₁₀₆₀h₁₀₆₁h₁₀₆₂h₁₀₆₃h₁₀₆₄h₁₀₆₅h₁₀₆₆h₁₀₆₇h₁₀₆₈h₁₀₆₉h₁₀₇₀h₁₀₇₁h₁₀₇₂h₁₀₇₃h₁₀₇₄h₁₀₇₅h₁₀₇₆h₁₀₇₇h₁₀₇₈h₁₀₇₉h₁₀₈₀h₁₀₈₁h₁₀₈₂h₁₀₈₃h₁₀₈₄h₁₀₈₅h₁₀₈₆h₁₀₈₇h₁₀₈₈h₁₀₈₉h₁₀₉₀h₁₀₉₁h₁₀₉₂h₁₀₉₃h₁₀₉₄h₁₀₉₅h₁₀₉₆h₁₀₉₇h₁₀₉₈h₁₀₉₉h₁₁₀₀h₁₁₀₁h₁₁₀₂h₁₁₀₃h₁₁₀₄h₁₁₀₅h₁₁₀₆h₁₁₀₇h₁₁₀₈h₁₁₀₉h₁₁₁₀h₁₁₁₁h₁₁₁₂h₁₁₁₃h₁₁₁₄h₁₁₁₅h₁₁₁₆h₁₁₁₇h₁₁₁₈h₁₁₁₉h₁₁₂₀h₁₁₂₁h₁₁₂₂h₁₁₂₃h₁₁₂₄h₁₁₂₅h₁₁₂₆h₁₁₂₇h₁₁₂₈h₁₁₂₉h₁₁₃₀h₁₁₃₁*

syllable in which they are integrated, whether autonomously or as components of diphthongs; the pressed sonant is never an element of a diphthong, whereas the unpressed forms the syllabic peak; and the conclusion is drawn that the series vowel + laryngal + occlusive, sonant, or spirant became, first, vowel + pressed consonant, and then, in pre-dialectic Indo-European, long vowel + simple consonant ($e + \text{sonant} + T > e + \text{sonant} + T$: pp. 121, 137-140; it seems possible, however, that the antithesis between pressed and unpressed in Sanskrit *véda* : *vidmá*, Latin *stella* : Vedic *stf̥bhis* < **str-bhis* may conceivably be due to accent). In this connection, the important question is raised (p. 140) whether the laryngals were really ancient or were vestiges of still earlier reduced consonants (cf. dialectic English [wəʔə] "water").

Vowels were dependent in Indo-European, their autonomy in common and dialectic Indo-European being due to the fact that they had absorbed and replaced older laryngals (pp. 140-141); and Indo-European knew two types of semantemes: triliteral, which were dynamic and without vocalic sound-phonemes; and at least quadriliteral, which were static, sometimes with vocalic sound-phonemes (pp. 92, 140-141). Furthermore, the vowel was originally non-phonemic and merely an *acte d'appoint*, its phoneme-character *e*, like its differentiation into *e* and *o*, being a later development which arose primarily from the structure of the syllable (pp. 146-150).

The verbal semanteme, according to van Langenhove, was originally biliteral and might be supported by a uniliteral element (the "suffix" of Benveniste) plus, sometimes, a *point d'appoint* (the "enlargement" of Benveniste); and the biliteral and uniliteral types were older than the triliteral or quadriliteral. The nominal semanteme, earlier than the verbal, is triliteral (pp. 141-146; the reasons for postulating this difference are not wholly clear to this reviewer; if the noun is older than the verb—as is undoubtedly the case—its most primitive form should also have been biliteral). The word, then, is really a compound of two or more bases (cf. p. 63); in general, the Indo-European languages inherited from their proto-speech their modes of procedure rather than their historic forms (p. 6); the so-called nasal infix is simply an enlargement (e.g., Latin *iungō* < **ai-eu-n-g-*; pp. 8-9); and the "root" (*racine*) is "the signifier whose signified is the dynamic idea" (p. 151).

Van Langenhove's discussions are of unusual value; and his remarks about Indo-European religion (pp. 77-79), like his consideration of animate vs. inanimate (pp. 147-148) and of the shift of thought from the static to the dynamic point of view (p. 150), are of importance and worth for students of comparative religion. After all, have we in the very earliest stage of Indo-European a situation somewhat resembling that of the Australian Aranta so ably studied by Alf Sommerfelt in his *La Langue et la société* (Oslo, 1938)? In one or two cases, operation with reduced grades, of which van Langenhove makes no mention, would seem to be in order, so that his difficulty in explaining Sanskrit *urnóti* "turns," Anglo-Saxon *wæt* "wet," and Greek *ῥῶν* "water" (pp. 7-8, 12) would apparently be solved by assuming the grades **er-*, **uéd-*, and **ud-*.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

PETER CHARANIS. *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire. The Religious Policy of Anastasius the First, 491-518.* Madison, Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1939. Pp. 102. \$1.50. (*University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History*, XXVI.)

Although the subtitle of Dr. Charanis' monograph is a more accurate description of its contents than is its title, the latter has the merit of emphasizing the complex relationships between religion and politics in the Later Roman Empire. It is perhaps difficult for us to appreciate the significance of the religious controversies which so profoundly stirred church and state during that period. These were no mere quarrels of rival theologians, debating fiercely their respective doctrinal formulas. Religious politics were party politics. The great political schisms that rent the state were based on religious differences: Arians fought Athanasians, Chalcedonians fought Monophysites, Iconoclasts fought Iconodules. The convictions and ambitions of emperors and ecclesiastics, regional prejudices and loyalties, even an inchoate nationalism, no less than theological differences, were involved in these quarrels.

In this sympathetic and carefully documented account of Anastasius' theological diplomacy Charanis seeks to show that political interests and aims were intermingled with the religious conflict concerning the union of two natures—the human and the divine—in the person of Christ. The theological issues at stake in the Monophysitic controversy may have been comparatively small but the political issues were enormous. Behind the debates lay deep-rooted cultural differences which threatened the peace and the unity of the Empire. It was, the author believes, the statesmanship of Anastasius which provisionally parried the danger of a rift between the Greek and the Oriental provinces of the Empire.

The beginning of the Monophysitic heresy and its significance are summarized in a brief introductory chapter. Charanis then describes the attempts of Anastasius to find a political solution for the conflict between the champions of the heresy, who were chiefly in Egypt and Syria, and the supporters of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, foremost of whom was the Pope in Rome. Anastasius had to choose between the horns of a dilemma, between the restoration of moral and political unity in the East by the sacrifice of peace with Rome or the maintenance of friendly relations with the West at the price of alienating Egypt and Syria. He chose to satisfy the Eastern provinces. Papal pressure and the revolts of Vitalian in the Balkans in 514 and 516 could not deflect the emperor from this course. He did not, however, succeed in bringing peace and harmony to the Empire. Peace came only when the Monophysitic provinces were conquered by the Saracens and detached from the realm of imperial politics.

Charanis wishes to prove that Anastasius' religious policy was not shaped by his own religious convictions. The proof adduced (for example, p. 13, n. 22) is by no means convincing. The "flexible policy" which Anastasius is said by the author to have followed was

almost always a policy in favor of the Monophysites. Peace he undeniably desired, but peace on his own terms, and those were generally satisfactory to the Monophysites. It is significant that before becoming emperor Anastasius had often preached in Constantinople, and that his doctrines were declared Monophysitic by the patriarch of Constantinople. It is at least interesting that the emperor's most trusted adviser during the period from 498 to 515 was the Syrian Marinus, who was highly praised by his fellow heretic, Zacharias of Mitylene (*Chronicle*, VII, 9). At all events, the people of Constantinople held Marinus responsible for certain ecclesiastical measures taken by the emperor in favor of the Monophysites. It is as unreasonable to deny the importance of the emperor's religious predilections as to ignore the importance of political and secular considerations. For the later Roman Empire the dichotomy is artificial.

The reader may not accept the author's thesis in its entirety but he will find an account of a difficult problem written in a manner at once interesting and informative. Charanis has brought an exacting scholarship and a command of widely scattered sources to his task. The critical note on these sources and the bibliography which complete the book are valuable; the index is adequate. I have noted a few omissions and errata. To the bibliography may perhaps be added H. Gelzer, "Das Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz," *Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXVI (1901), pp. 193-252, and W. A. Wigram, *The Separation of the Monophysites* (London, 1923). Hefele's *Conciliengeschichte* is best used in the translation with supplementary notes by H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles* (8 vols., Paris, 1907-21). P. 3, n. 1 and p. 96, for "Welts" read "Welt"; p. 8, the *Epistola Dogmatica* ascribed to Cyril is apparently the same as the *Tome* of Leo; p. 10, n. 1 and p. 52, n. 5, for *De Bello Pers* read *De Bello Persico*; p. 10, n. 1, for *Ποπαῖοι* read *Ποπαῖοι*; p. 10, n. 3, for *Excerpta ex Ecclesiasticae Historiae* read *Excerpta ex Ecclesiastica Historia*; p. 11, n. 7, for "Dexippi" read "Dexippus"; p. 81, for "Zacharius Scholasticus" read "Zacharias Scholasticus"; p. 82, for "Naw" read "Nau"; p. 94, for "Smith and Ware" read "Smith and Wace"; p. 100, for "Indicullus" read "Indiculus"; p. 101, for "Nicephorus Callister" read "Nicephorus Callistus."

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WILLIAM NICKERSON BATES. *Sophocles, Poet and Dramatist*. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. xiii + 291; 6 plates; 4 figures. \$3.50.

This book, dedicated to his four great Harvard teachers, follows the plan of Professor Bates' similar volume on Euripides. There are chapters on The Life of Sophocles, The Dramatic Art of Sophocles, The Satyr Dramas, The Extant Tragedies, The Lost Plays, and an appendix listing the fragments in seventeen papyri. The sources

are carefully studied and documented to give a picture of Sophocles' career; and a critical estimate is given of plot, character, irony, the supernatural, horror, dramatic silence, humor, stage devices, style, and the chorus. There is an account of the seven preserved tragedies and of the fragmentary new Satyr-play, the *Ichneutae*, with summaries and quotations in Professor Bates' own verse translations. But there is little literary appreciation of the plays or of their dramatic vitality and inspiration to future generations, such as a recent performance in Greek of the *Oedipus Rex* at Fordham University brought home to those who were present. The "fortuna" of Sophocles should be discussed in such a volume as well as an imaginative estimate and a less mechanical analysis given of the characters, the sort of thing Gilbert Murray does so well. Professor Bates does refer (p. 68) to Shorey's citation of De Quincey, who declared a passage in the *Oedipus at Colonus* (1547-1555), where the blind, miserable Oedipus guided by a higher power moves out of the orchestra (not "off the stage" as Bates says) to be transfigured, "one of the most sublime in literature." I shall never forget the rendering of this scene at the Comédie Française by the great French actor, Mounet-Sully, after he had become blind. Professor Bates also refers to a prose translation of some lines of the *Oedipus Rex* in the Gennadion in Athens which is attributed to Shelley. But we needed much more.

The illustrations are not well chosen. On p. 183 (Plate III) a column crater in Chicago is used to illustrate the mad Athamas. It really is the story of Salmoneus, and, though perhaps dating before the play, illustrates Sophocles' *Salmoneus*. Salmoneus is mad and breaking his bonds. With greave on his left arm and thunderbolt in his right hand, he is defying Zeus. The scene was painted by the Aleimachus Painter and is correctly labelled in the Chicago Art Institute.¹ No reference is given to the place of publication of the illustrations. The Caeretan hydria in the Louvre (Plate IV), for example, is published in the *Corpus Vasorum, Louvre*, Fasc. 9, III F a, Pls. VIII, 3 and 4; X. It would be better to use as the frontispiece the full-size Lateran Sophocles rather than the poor British Museum bust (hardly a herm) reproduced as the frontispiece, which may even portray a Homer going blind. This head is entirely different from that of the Lateran Sophocles, and even Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*⁴, p. 988, Pl. 13, questions it.² The gold seal from Thisbe (Fig. 1, p. 39; dated ca. 1500 B. C.) is probably a forgery and probably does not represent "Oedipus attacking Sphinx."

¹ Cf. Robert in the Halle *Apophoreton* (Berlin, 1903); Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, s. v. "Salmoneus," p. 291; and R.-E., s. v. "Salmoneus," cols. 105 ff.

² This type of head is published as that of Sophocles in Delbrueck, *Antike Porträts*, Pl. 16; Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, p. 29, no. 2; Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture*, 4a. But all agree with Bernoulli and others that it is very doubtful and that there is no real evidence that it is Sophocles. In any case it surely is an imaginative Hellenistic creation and does not go back to the statue erected by his son, Iophon, ca. 400 B. C. A replica, formerly in the Landsdowne Collection in London and published by Poulsen, *Einzel-aufnahmen*, 3064-3065, is now in the possession of the New York dealer, Gregor Aharon, who calls it Homer.

There is no bibliography, though great scholars are sometimes cited, even Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (but always with one *f* at the end of his name, pp. 118, 144, 218 [*bis*], 236, 291). Robert's work on Sophocles is ignored, and his edition of *Die Spürhunde* (Berlin, 1912) and his two volumes on *Oedipus* (Berlin, 1915) seem not to have been used at all. For Satyrus' Life of Euripides, to which Bates refers a good deal, compare Kirby Smith's article in *A. J. P.*, XXXIV (1913), pp. 62-73. On p. 234 in discussing Sophocles' *Meleager* no mention is made of a passage in Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXVII, 40, who evidently is referring to this play when he attributes to Sophocles the story that after Meleager's death his weeping sisters were transported from Greece to India and changed into guinea fowl (*meleagrides*), dropping tears of amber from their eyes for Meleager. For Daedalus and Talos references to art representations of these characters would be valuable in reconstructing the plot of the *Daedalus*. P. 33, n. 3, a reference should be given to *I. G.* instead of *C. I. G.*; and the inscription in which the *Telepheia* is mentioned need not be dated as late as 405 B. C. (p. 173). P. 73, Pausanias is quoted as referring to the tomb of Oedipus between the Areopagus and the Acropolis. Could this be the Mycenaean tomb found by Shear in the agora (*Hesperia*, IX [1940], pp. 274-291)?

The volume is an interesting and good résumé but not as important to the scholar as Pohlenz's *Griechische Tragödie* (Berlin, 1930), Harry's *Greek Tragedy*, I (Aeschylus and Sophocles) (New York, 1933), or Webster's *Introduction to Sophocles* (Oxford, 1936), or Jebb's editions and complete translations of the seven plays, and Pearson's *Fragments of Sophocles*.

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J. BRUNEL. L'aspect verbal et l'emploi des préverbes en grec, particulièrement en attique. Paris, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1939. Pp. 296. (*Collection linguistique publiée par la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XLV.)

In his introduction the author mentions the old aspectual classification of Greek according to the present, aorist, perfect tenses, representing respectively a process in its development, a process viewed without idea of duration, and an acquired state. This interpretation is valid but does not suffice for the whole picture, and he goes on to examine the Greek verb on the basis of the aspects which are fundamental in the Slavic languages: imperfective or durative, perfective or momentary action. Herein he follows the lead of his honored teacher Meillet, who in his *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*³, pp. 209-210 called attention to the fact that in Greek, as in Slavic, a compound verb often served as perfective to an imperfective simplex. Brunel prefers to use *déterminé* and *indéterminé* as designations for the two aspects, since they seem to indicate the meanings more exactly, and calls attention to the phenomenon that the *déterminé* is not necessarily *momentané*, but may be ingressive,

denoting the single act which results in a permanent state, or resultative, denoting an action which may be of some duration but comes to a definite result. It is from this standpoint, then, that he surveys especially the compound verbs in comparison with their uncompounded forms, finding that where the prefix does not essentially alter the meaning the prefix serves to give to the verb the determinate aspect.

His index shows 227 simple verbs, 505 compounds; his examples are quoted in the original, then translated into French, which proves to be a splendid tool for the expression of the delicate shades of meaning: only rarely, as in the Xenophontine passage, p. 162 top, does his French paraphrase seem to me to be ineffective.

Scholars who are interested in aspects should read this volume with care. Any critique would have to be on details of the interpretation of single passages, for which there could hardly be space here; and even a reviewer's disagreement on a few passages would not refute Brunel's exposition, which is centered on the use of verbs with prefixes but does not limit the determinate aspect to these verbs. For he repeatedly speaks of the fact that determinate aspect is the meaning of special verbs (p. 12, determinate *φράζω* and indeterminate *λέγω*), and of uncompounded verbs which form their presents by reduplication (p. 5, *μίμνω*, but indeterminate *μένω*) or by suffixes (p. 5, *ἀνύτω*, but indeterminate *ἀνύω*). But the picture, in its general traits, is not changed. The really living variation in classical Greek times was that marked by presence or absence of a prefix (e. g., p. 24, *ἐπέχω* vs. *ἔχω*). The prefixes which yield the bulk of his examples are *ἀνά*, 48; *ἀπό*, 98; *διά*, 71; *ἐκ* *ἐξ*, 104; *ἐπί*, 53; *κατά*, 90; *σύν*, 24.

In examining such treatises as these I have certain misgivings. Are there not many passages in which either meaning would suit the situation? This is admitted in Brunel's introduction, where he finds that the aspect expresses the writer's attitude toward the fact, and implies that a difference of attitude on the writer's part would reverse the aspect. Then might not the modern scholar be unduly influenced in his interpretation by a desire to make words and forms determinate in accord with the supposed significance of the verbal forms? After all, can a reliable feeling for verbal aspects be acquired by one who does not use these discriminations in his ordinary daily speech? These problems worry me somewhat, but perhaps my misgivings are unjustified. For Brunel's picture is not a schematically regular picture: he admits the determinate value of the aorist of many simple verbs, and he sometimes finds that the simplex and the compound vary little if at all in aspect (examples on pp. 121, 197-198). This is as it should be in language, where thoroughgoing regularity is seldom found, especially in semantic matters. Brunel has demonstrated the correctness of a view which has been set forth in brief by others and has been by him established with a detailed exposition.

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CRONJE BURNFORD EARP. *A Study of the Fragments of Three Related Plays of Accius*. Scottdale, Mennonite Press, 1939. Pp. vii + 105. (Diss.)

"The difficulty of locating the fragment is shown by the varied opinions concerning its interpretation" (p. 85). This sentence might well have been used as a motto for the dissertation as a whole. Of these opinions concerning the fragments of the *Achilles*, *Myrmidones*, and *Epinausimache* Earp gives a clear and detailed account from the dozens of specialists and transients in the field of Greek and Roman tragedy. It will be the starting point for any future work on these plays or their Attic forbears. The completeness of the critique and the good sense applied to the prejudiced arguments of many students of Greek tragedy whose sole interest in Accius lay in the reconstruction of Aeschylus will be a joy to subsequent workers in the field. Accius is rehabilitated as a subject for study in himself, instead of a dump heap of translated Greek fragments to be picked or discarded according to preconceived notions of lost Aeschylean plots. How fantastic is the mass of criticism through which Earp had to wade is amusingly shown by the necessity of three pages of argument to demonstrate that the *Epinausimache* really had to do with the battle at the ships!

The author is fully aware of the uncertainties entailed in dealing with fragments. He is frank in admitting that large numbers (e. g., 11 of the 17 in *Epinausimache*) cannot be definitely placed as to position, speaker, or addressee. He admits all uncertainties of title, original, manner of Accius' dealing with his model, and relation of the original to Homer, but extracts from the whole what salvageable facts there are. Probably even Earp is not as cautious as he might be, for, like all who work long in fragments, he forgets that every citation need not refer directly to some prominent feature of the plot, or, if it does, it need not refer to it at a place where that feature is the main concern. E. g., must *Myrm.* II, merely because it refers to sailing, necessarily be Achilles' threat to sail from Troy? Probably, but the possibility cannot be denied that somebody may have had some occasion to refer to some other sailing (the Greek fleet to Troy ten years before?). Had Sophocles, *O. T.*, 61 or 260 been fragments, they would certainly have been supposed to be after the anagnorisis of Oedipus.

Earp's method is good. He first argues convincingly for the separate existence of the three plays. Each is then taken up with a critique of opinions on its scope and original. Each fragment is discussed at length, conflicting views presented, the wheat separated from the chaff, and the author's conclusions offered. A sketch of the plot concludes each section. All is done with so much caution that the meagre conclusions seem disproportionate to the voluminous discussion. Those on the *Achilles* are inconsequential; concerning the *Myrmidones* Earp is in essential agreement with Ribbeck; and for the *Epinausimache* he can offer only the most general outline which almost any scholar would accept. The dissertation is a sound piece of criticism based on an immense bibliography, and the author has done all that could be done with material so scant that more

complete results could not be expected. It should clarify the tragic atmosphere and warn newcomers against the false blandishments of a "vivid imagination."

Two faults of composition mar the readability of the work. The discussion is highly repetitious and over-annotated (cf. thirty footnotes on pp. 74-5 referring to discussion so recent as pp. 68-74). Rarely does Earp succumb to the temptations which he justly criticizes in others. Ribbeck carried the *Myrmidones* from *Iliad*, IX (beyond which no fragment goes) to the death of Patroclus in order to contain sufficient *tragischer Gestalt*. This idea, Earp explains, is based on a study of Greek tragedy. But Earp then argues that, because the ancients considered Accius a great tragedian, he must have lived up to Aristotelian canons and therefore, since there is no dénouement in *Iliad*, IX, the plot can reach a proper "end" only with the death of Patroclus! Perhaps so severe a critic of the "vivid imagination" may be permitted a flight or two of his own as his reward.

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GISELA SCHMITZ-KAHLMANN. Das Beispiel der Geschichte im politischen Denken des Isokrates. Leipzig, Dieterich, 1939. Pp. xii + 130. RM. 8. (*Philologus*, Supplementband XXXI, Heft 4.)

Isocrates draws upon the whole complex of past history, including legend and myth, for his illustrative *exempla* and he uses them as an important means for educating his followers, the citizenry of Athens and the Greek world generally, in practical political thinking and action. It is worth while pointing out that Isocrates placed great emphasis upon the educational value of illustrations from the historical and legendary past, and Schmitz-Kahlmann has done this clearly and effectively but, as it seems to me, at unnecessarily great length. There is nothing startlingly new in the thesis that the Greek orator and political philosopher shared the sentiment of Patrick Henry when he said, "I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided and that is the lamp of experience; I know of no way of judging the future but by the past." The appeal to the precedent of the past is a commonplace of Greek literature and lies at the base of ancient Greek education. It has not remained unobserved until this study appeared "... dass zwischen der Erscheinung des *Paradeigma* in der Beredsamkeit und seiner Erscheinung in der älteren griechischen Dichtung eine innere Beziehung bestehen muss," nor can a hard and fast distinction be drawn between the *paradeigma* as a stylistic device (*Stilform*) and as a mode of thought (*Denkform*). The distinction the author is apparently driving at is the employment of the *paradeigma* with little or no "pointing of the moral" on the one hand in order to incite listeners and readers to emulation of glorious deeds or as a means of entertainment alone, and, on the other hand, in order to instruct by analyzing and interpreting the true inwardness of the incident. It is in this latter

manner that Isocrates employs the *paradeigma* as a laboratory demonstration in political thinking. But the distinction here made is only a convenient method of emphasizing the importance assigned by Isocrates to one set of ethical values in the experience of the past in comparison with another group of ethical values, for it needs no demonstration that politics was by Greek thinkers of this period considered a part of ethics.

The three parts of the monograph take up, 1) the illustration from historical experience as a means of political instruction; 2) the use of the myth in political propaganda; 3) the appeal to ancestors as a guide to action. The author analyzes each of the principal illustrations in Isocrates and finds that they were employed as a means of training in political thinking and in the formation of political judgments and as a means of propaganda (but this term is not clearly defined) and of transmitting ethical concepts. Characteristic of Isocrates is his consistency of thought regarding policies and political ethics and the realistic, rather than theoretical, manner in which he approaches the problems of the state. He shows himself not only a political orator but an educator in political science. In an excursus the author decides against the genuineness of the ninth letter because it uses material from the speech to Philip, although the letter purports to have been written in 356.

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REVEREND MARTIN J. HIGGINS. . *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582-602). Part I: The Chronology, with a Brief History of the Persian Calendar.* Washington, Catholic Univ. Press, 1939. Pp. xii + 85. (The Catholic University of America, *Byzantine Studies*, I.)

The study of which this dissertation is the first part is one of the results of Professor Ernst Stein's recent membership in the faculty of Catholic University. The remainder of the study (Part II, *The Sources* and Part III, *Narrative of Events*) is announced as ready for publication and may be expected shortly.

The Persian War, which had been dragging on since 572, entered a new and final phase when, in 590 A. D., the recently crowned Chosroes II was defeated by a revolting general who usurped the throne as Bahram VI. Chosroes fled to Maurice, who received him and aided him to regain his throne.

Chapter I is concerned with fixing the date of the coronation of Bahram VI. The date is given by Theophylactus Simocatta and by the Persian epic poet Firdausi. The establishment of a concordance between these two accounts leads the author to an examination of the Persian calendar and the discovery that in 590 A. D., while the religious calendar was left untouched, in the civil calendar the five epagomenae were suppressed. The accuracy of this conclusion is confirmed by a really surprising number and variety of chronological data which are cleared up on this basis. In addition, Higgins is able

to offer a plausible reason for the suppression of the epagomenae: "the intercalary days were regarded by the Persians as of very ill omen" (p. 11), and the battle between Chosroes II and Bahram took place precisely during the intercalary period. The author correctly considers that this first chapter contains "the most important results of the dissertation" (p. 71).

The rest of the dissertation is devoted to various details in the chronology from the accession of Maurice in 582 to the restoration of Chosroes II to the throne of Persia in 591. The most important results here are the fixing of Maurice's rejection of the Persian peace offer and the ensuing military action beginning with the Roman victory at Solachon in 585 (as against Dölger's 586), and the fixing of the mutiny of the Roman army in Syria in 588 and its reconciliation in 589 (as against Dölger's 587 and 588, respectively). The volume concludes with a "Chronological Table of the Persian War" from 582 to 591, presenting in graphic form the results of the preceding pages, a bibliography, and an index.

It is surprising to find, in a work devoted exclusively to chronological matters, no comment on the accession date of Maurice. It is true that this date does not affect the study of the Persian War, but the date which Higgins gives, August 14, 582 A. D., demands some explanation, for it seems to be a compromise effected by Higgins himself between August 13, the date given by the *Chronicon Paschale* and now generally accepted, and August 15, the date given by other chroniclers (cf. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora*, III, p. 549).

For the rest, however, Father Higgins has worked carefully and well, and the results have amply repaid his efforts.

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ELIZABETH C. EVANS. *The Cults of the Sabine Territory*. Horn, Nied.-Donau, Buchdruckerei Ferdinand Berger, 1939. Pp. xiv + 254; 7 plates. (*Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, XI.)

Miss Evans' work is similar to two previous volumes of the series of *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, Peterson's *Cults of Campania* (1919) and Taylor's *Local Cults in Etruria* (1923). The book consists of preface, table of contents, table of plates, select bibliography, abbreviations used in citing periodicals, four chapters (The Sabini, Local Cults of the Sabine Territory, Cities and Areas associated with the Sabini, and Varro's List of Sabine Divinities with an appendix on the Ludi Taurei and the Lupercalia), conclusion, index, and seven plates (Pl. I is a map of the Sabine territory, the rest are concerned with the temple at Villa S. Silvestro, except for Pl. III, 1, a photograph of the Titulus Mummius from Reate).

The objectives of this monograph were twofold, 1) a presentation of the evidence for the local cults in Sabine territory and 2) an ex-

amination and analysis of Varro's list of divinities which he regards as having been introduced from the Sabine territory into Rome. Miss Evans has achieved these objectives with admirable thoroughness and scholarship. It is, however, regrettable that there is so little inscriptional and archaeological evidence from the Sabine territory. What exists affords evidence for the cult of the emperors, of Mars, Hercules, Vacuna (identified by the Romans with Victoria), Feronia, Silvanus, Salus, Quirinus, Diana, the Lares, Dea Dia, Neptune, Mercury, Ceres, Minerva, Fortuna, Di Penates, Liber, Libera, Jupiter Liber, Charites, Venus, Spes, Praestita, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Pater Reatinus, Aesculapius, Cybele, Apollo, Isis, Serapis, and Fortuna Redux.

This list of deities has little in common with Varro's roll of Sabine divinities. The evidence, however, except for a very few inscriptions, belongs to a period later than Varro's time and the material bearing on local Sabine cults is extremely incomplete. Miss Evans studies each divinity classified by Varro as "Sabine" and attempts to determine whether he was correct and also the reasons which may have induced him to make such a classification. The author finds that a few of the gods on Varro's list are certainly Sabine, and she demonstrates very convincingly that most of the other divinities on the list are "Sabine," in other words that Varro was in the main correct, since he apparently considered as "Sabine" those cults, largely agricultural, which came from central Italy from a group of people more extensive than the actual "Sabines."

In her discussion of Minerva Miss Evans might have noted the extraordinary devotion shown by Domitian, of Sabine stock, to that goddess. This devotion is attested by literary tradition and by numismatic evidence.

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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENT

Professor Harold Cherniss and Professor Henry T. Rowell are now on active duty with the armed forces of the United States. The Editorial Board announces the election to its membership of Richard M. Haywood and the temporary appointment of Benjamin D. Meritt as Managing Editor. By vote of the Academic Council Professor David M. Robinson has been elected Honorary Editor.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(It is impossible to review all books submitted to the JOURNAL, but all are listed under BOOKS RECEIVED. Contributions sent for review or notice are not returnable.)

Colson (F. H.). Philo. With an English Translation. In ten volumes, volume IX. Cambridge, Mass., *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann Ltd.*, 1941. Pp. x + 547.

Dowdell (Victor Lyle). Aristotle and Anglican Religious Thought. Ithaca, *Cornell Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xi + 103. \$1.50.

Fifty-eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1940-1941. Washington, D. C., *Smithsonian Institution*. Pp. 13.

Forbes (Clarence A.). Teachers' Pay in Ancient Greece. Pp. 60. (*Univ. of Nebraska Studies*, May, 1942. *Studies in the Humanities*, No. 2.)

Graeff (Arthur D.), Kollmorgen (Walter M.), Stine (Clyde S.), Wood (Ralph), Shryock (Richard H.), Buffington (Albert Franklin), Musselman (G. Paul), Reichard (Harry Hess). The Pennsylvania Germans. Edited by Ralph Wood. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. x + 299. \$3.00.

Hatcher (Anna Granville). Reflexive Verbs: Latin, Old French, Modern French. Baltimore, *Johns Hopkins Press*; London, *Humphrey Milford, Oxford Univ. Press*; Paris, *Société d'éd. "Les Belles Lettres"*, 1942. Pp. 213. (*The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages*, XLIII.)

Kleberg (Tönnes). Catalogus codicum graecorum et latinorum Bibliothecae Gotoburgensis. Göteborg, 1941. Pp. 48; 6 figs.

Lattimore (Richmond). Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs. Urbana, *Univ. of Illinois Press*, 1942. Pp. 354. \$3.50 cloth; \$3.00 paper. (*Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, XXVIII, Nos. 1-2.)

Lehmann-Hartleben (Karl) and Olsen (Erling C.). Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore. Baltimore, published jointly by *The Institute of Fine Arts, New York Univ.* and *The Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1942. Pp. 82; frontispiece; 44 figures.

Needler (G. H.). John Galt, Dramatist. Reprinted from the *Univ. of Toronto Quarterly*, XI, 2 (January, 1942), pp. 194-208.

Pollock (Thomas Clark). The Nature of Literature. Its Relation to Science, Language, and Human Experience. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xxiv + 218. \$3.00.

Prentice (William Kelly). Those Ancient Dramas Called Tragedies. Princeton, *Princeton Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. 194; 2 plates. \$2.50.

Pritchard (John Paul). Return to the Fountains. Some Classical Sources of American Criticism. Durham, N. C., *Duke Univ. Press*, 1942. Pp. xiii + 271. \$3.00.

Renard (Marcel). Initiation à l'Étruscologie. Préface d'Albert Grenier. Brussels, *J. Lebegue & Cie*, 1941. Pp. 93; 14 plates.

Selden (Elizabeth). China in German Poetry from 1773-1833. *Univ. of California Publ. in Modern Philology*, XXV, 3 (1942), pp. x + 141-316.

Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1940-1941. U. S. Gov't. Printing Office, 1942. Pp. vii + 95; 1 plate.

Shipley, Frederick W.: Studies in Honor of. By His Colleagues. St. Louis, 1942. Pp. xi + 314; frontispiece. (*Washington Univ. Studies*, New Series, *Language and Literature*, XIV.)

Thomas (Ivor). Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics. With an English Translation. In two volumes, volume II: From Aristarchus to Pappus. Cambridge, Mass., *Harvard Univ. Press*; London, *William Heinemann Ltd.*, 1941. Pp. xii + 683.

Verlaine (Paul). Sagesse. Cambridge, *University Press*; New York, *Macmillan Co.*, 1942. Pp. xii + 50. \$1.00.